3 1761 02077185 3

EMMANUEL

Presented to

THE LIBRARY

of

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY

Toronto

by

Professor John Webster Grant

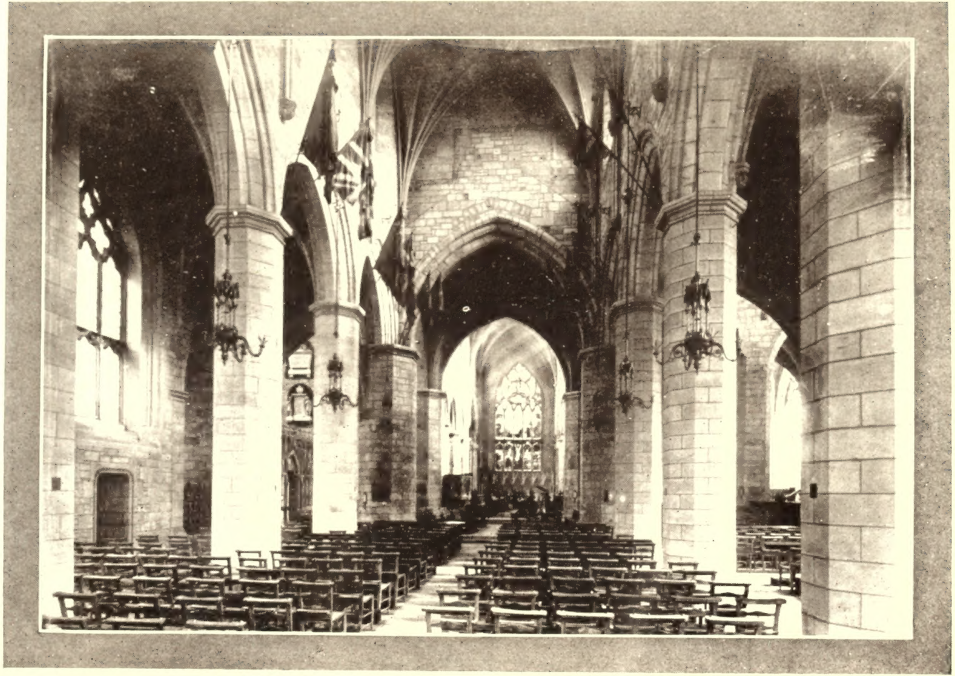
W. A. Beecroft. B.D.
Apr. 23/19.

THE STORY OF
THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

PUBLISHED BY
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS, GLASGOW
Publishers to the University.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.
New York, - - *The Macmillan Co.*
Toronto, - - - *The Macmillan Co. of Canada.*
London, - - - *Simpkin, Hamilton and Co.*
Cambridge, - - *Macmillan and Bowes.*
Edinburgh, - - *Douglas and Foulis.*
Sydney, - - - *Angus and Robertson.*

MCMXIX.



F. C. Inglis.

S. GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH.

THE STORY OF THE
SCOTTISH CHURCH
FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES

BY

NINIAN HILL

GLASGOW
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS
PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY
1919

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

TO
THE MEMORY OF THE REVEREND
GAVIN LANG PAGAN, B.D.
CAPTAIN, 15TH ROYAL SCOTS
MINISTER OF S. GEORGE'S PARISH, EDINBURGH

WHO AT THE CALL OF HIS KING AND COUNTRY
WITH THE SANCTION OF HIS PRESBYTERY
ENLISTED AS A PRIVATE SOLDIER
AND GALLANTLY FELL IN ACTION IN FRANCE
ON 28TH APRIL, 1917

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED
BY THE AUTHOR

The Good Shepherd giveth His Life for the sheep

PREFACE

On the occasion of a recent visit to the Grand Fleet, the Dean of the Thistle and Chapel Royal was reported in the daily press to have been asked by a naval officer *à propos* of the name of a patrol craft, " And who was Jenny Geddes ? " The question, it is to be feared, is symptomatic of much popular ignorance concerning the national Church. The following pages have been written with the object of providing the general reader with a brief sketch of the history of the Church of Scotland. For his convenience there are added in an Appendix some notes to elucidate matters of interest instead of referring to works not always readily accessible.

It has been my earnest desire and endeavour to write nothing unfair or uncharitable towards those from whose opinions on ecclesiastical matters I have been led to differ. As occasion seemed to call for it, the words of representative authorities have been quoted and references given to the works consulted. I desire to express my very sincere thanks to Brigadier-General the Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, D.D., V.D., Principal Chaplain, Depute-Clerk of the General Assembly, for his advice and help ; and also to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Rev. Norman Maclean, D.D., the Rev. Patrick M. Playfair, D.D., P. Macgregor Chalmers, Esq., I.A., and Thomas Liddle, Esq., for their kindness in providing me with illustrations.

The question may be asked,—"Why in the midst of a great war should we be asked to consider the subject of church history?" A sufficient answer may be given in the words of a great thinker—the late Professor Flint, who said many years ago, "The Church has done more than any other institution to make Scotland what it is." What Scotland really is has been made abundantly manifest by the war. Not less than other parts of the British Empire has it shown in all ranks and classes of society intense devotion to high ideals of righteousness and duty, and Scotsmen have good reason to value their national Church, the true and ultimate channel of their inspiration, and to cherish its history.

N. H.

EDINBURGH, 1918.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE
I. THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION - - - 1
II. ECCLESIA SCOTICANA - - - - - - 10
III. THE FEUDAL-ROMAN PHASE - - - - 30
IV. THE FALL OF THE ROMAN HIERARCHY - - 68
V. REFORMATION - - - - - - - 79
VI. THE TRUE AND HOLY KIRK - - - - 115
VII. REACTION - - - - - - - - 136
VIII. THE COVENANTS - - - - - - - 162
IX. A REIGN OF TERROR - - - - - - 182
X. THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT - - - - 203
XI. DISSENSIONS - - - - - - - 212
XII. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO-DAY - - - 236

APPENDIX.

NOTES.—A. The designation of "Pope." B. The Ordination of S. Aidan. C. Celtic and Roman Usages. D. The Teinds. E. George Wishart. F. "Idolatry." G. Iconoclasm. H. Roman Catholic Martyrs. I. "Vicar of Christ." J. Extempore Prayer. K. Godparents. L. Priest or Minister. M. Altar or Table. N. The Office of Elder. O. Apostolic Succession. P. Identity of "Bishop" and "Presbyter." Q. Origin of Episcopacy. R. Confirmation. S. Kneeling at Holy Communion. T. Privy Censures. U. Anglican Orders. V. Scottish Episcopalian Services. W. An Execution for Blasphemy - - - - - - - - 244

INDEX - - - - - - - - - - 259

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. S. GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH - - *Frontispiece*
2. SCULPTURED STONE AT KIRKMADRINE - - *Page* 4
3. IONA CATHEDRAL AND S. MARTIN'S CROSS - ,, 12
4. CELTIC CROSS AT EASSIE - - - - - ,, 28
5. S. MUNGO'S CATHEDRAL, GLASGOW - - - ,, 64
6. HOLY TRINITY PARISH CHURCH, ST. ANDREWS - ,, 106
7. THE PARISH CHURCH, CRATHIE - - - - ,, 210
8. S. GEORGE'S PARISH CHURCH, EDINBURGH - ,, 226
9. THE THISTLE CHAPEL, S. GILES' - - - ,, 236
10. THE MISSION CHURCH OF S. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, BLANTYRE, B.C.A. - - - - ,, 242

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION

THE Church differs in one matter of supreme importance from all our other national institutions. Scots law derives its authority from sovereigns and parliaments. Scottish regiments have been raised by patriots. The Universities were founded by wise ecclesiastics, and our great hospitals by philanthropic men and women. But the Church owes its origin neither to king nor people. It was founded by Him who said, " I will build My Church."

Our story then begins not with John Knox, S. Margaret, S. Columba, or S. Ninian, who at different epochs led the Church in its onward course, but with S. Andrew and another disciple who, on a memorable day, heard and answered the first call of its divine Founder. We can follow in the New Testament the progress of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome, but from Rome westwards the records are meagre and the traditions unreliable. We know, however, that in the second century there were organised Christian communities in Gaul, and that there existed similar communities in Britain before 315, when bishops from London, York, and Caerleon attended a Council at Arles. A great impetus to the extension of the Church was given through the acceptance of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine (312-324).

But who it was that first brought the Gospel to Scotland is unknown. Ten years after the siege and fall of Jerusalem, the Emperor Titus sent Agricola with an expeditionary force to subdue the wild tribes of ancient Caledonia. It proved a difficult task, for the inhabitants bravely defended their independence, and the Romans could only retain a foothold with difficulty. But along those Roman roads which we can still trace in various parts of the country, the Gospel was borne, perhaps by a magistrate or a soldier, possibly by some humble missionary. Be that as it may, to a Christian chieftain living on the shores of the Solway was born, about the year 360, a son who was baptised by the name of Ninian, the first Christian name to shine out of the pagan darkness which envelops those far-off days. At an early age he revealed a pious disposition, and of his character it was afterwards recalled, " wonderful was his reverence about churches ; great his love for the brethren." In due time he went to Rome, where he studied for some years and where he was made a bishop. Returning to his native land he visited S. Martin at Tours on the way, and was so impressed with the value of the busy monastery there as a missionary agency that when he continued his journey he took with him some skilled workmen, and resolved to found a similar institution in Scotland. Arriving in Galloway he came to Whithorn and there established his monastery and built his church.

The name Whithorn has an interesting significance. It is derived from the Saxon Witherne or Witerna, the equivalent of Bede's latinised Candida Casa or White

House, and it is thought to have reference to the fresh masonry of the church which was built, probably after a Roman model, " in a way unusual among the Britons." Martin died in 397, and as Ninian dedicated his church to the memory of his friend, we thus get an approximate date for the erection of the building. The veneration of S. Martin spread far and wide, as such names as Kilmartin and Strathmartine testify, and even yet there is no day in the calendar we are less allowed to forget than Martinmas.

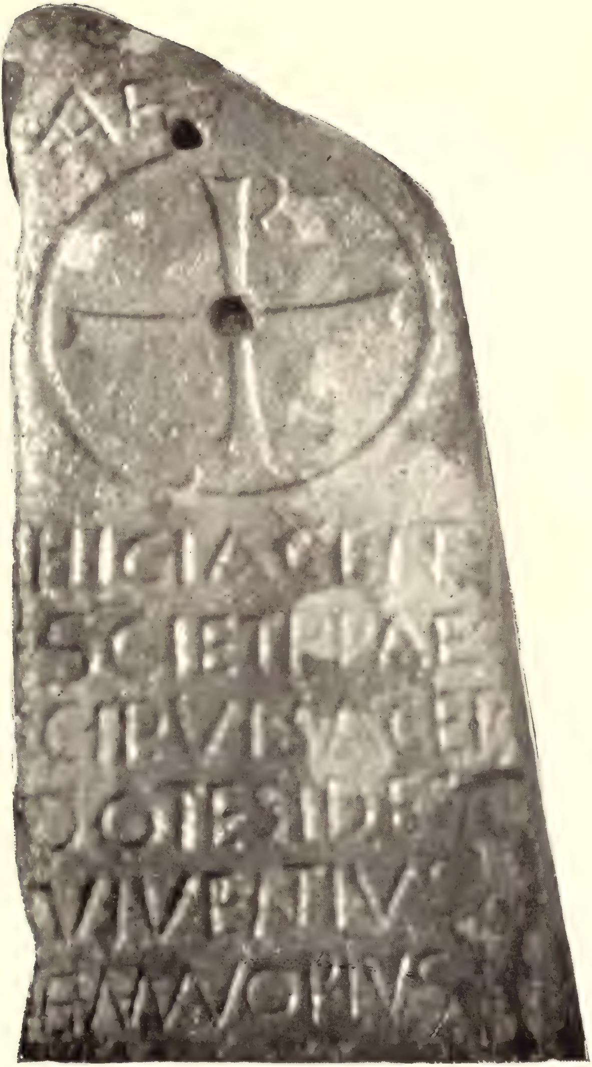
Ninian had to combat the forces of paganism which centred in the hands of the Druids, who were probably necromancers or sorcerers rather than priests. Their religion, of which nothing is known with certainty, was not improbably a mixture of nature worship and demon propitiation, and responded to instincts of wonder and fear. Forests, rivers, and wells were thought to be haunted by Sidhe, a sort of fairy or elve, not always unfriendly. This ancient religion, though long since passed away, has left traces behind which still survive. May-Day celebrations are said to have originated in the great Druidical festival of Beltane, which marked the beginning of summer ; and even in the last century Beltane fires and Beltane cakes were not unknown. In the autumn another festival was celebrated on Hallow Eve called Samhain or the Fire of Peace. Standing stones or circles are, however, the most noticeable relics of the pagan era. For long they were popularly supposed to be Druidical temples, but it is now considered more probable that they were sepulchral monuments not unconnected with ancestor worship. How the huge monoliths came to be hewn, transported, and erected is an unsolved mystery.

The sphere of Ninian's labours was not confined within the limits of the Roman wall, which stretched from the Forth to the Clyde. He became known as the apostle to the Southern Picts, whose kingdom lay beyond the wall to the south of the Grampians ; but his name is preserved in many places on the eastern side of Scotland, even as far north as S. Ninian's Isle in Shetland.[1] But the real centre of his greatest and most lasting influence was his *Magnum Monasterium*, as it was called, at Whithorn. Here it was that the Scottish clergy of the future were trained and sent forth to further the evangelisation of the country. Its fame attracted youths from the north of Ireland, who returned to their native land inspired by Ninian's holy example. One of them, Cairnech, is claimed, on somewhat questionable authority, to have been the first monk in Ireland ; and another, Finnian or Finnan, founded a monastery at Moville, where S. Columba studied.

Tradition asserts that S. Ninian died at Whithorn on 16th September, 432, at a good old age. All vestiges of his Candida Casa have long since disappeared. The ruins of the mediaeval cathedral occupy the traditional site, but local opinion inclines more in favour of that of a ruined chapel in the Isle of Whithorn, about three miles distant. S. Ninian's Cave in the cliffs on the shore may be regarded with more certainty as his resort for prayer and meditation. At Whithorn there is a very ancient monument of Christian art which clearly belongs to the Roman pre-Celtic period, and may therefore have been contemporaneous with S. Ninian. It consists of an upright stone bearing an incised cross with the Chrisma of Constantine and an inscription probably

---

[1] See Note A, page 244.


HIC IACENT
SCI ET PRAE
CIPVI SACER
DOTES IDES
VIVENTIVS
ET MAVORIVS

SCULPTURED STONE, WITH CHI-RHO MONOGRAM OR CHRISMA OF CONSTANTINE, AT KIRKMADRINE.

indicating "the stone of S. Peter the Apostle." In the same county, at Kirkmadrine, there are three other somewhat similarly decorated stones; but nowhere else in Scotland have such monuments been found, and the conclusion seems irresistible that they were the work of the monks of Candida Casa.

The next generation produced the illustrious Patricius or Patrick. Whether he was born, probably between 386 and 389, at Old Kilpatrick on the banks of the Clyde or not cannot be definitely ascertained, but there are good reasons for believing so. He came of a Christian family, his father being a deacon and his grandfather a presbyter. At the age of sixteen he was kidnapped by a band of roving Irish and carried off to Ireland, where he spent some years working as a slave on a farm. Escaping at last from captivity he returned, after many adventures, to his parents. Then a vision appeared to him, and he heard Irish voices crying, "We pray thee, holy youth, to come and henceforth walk amongst us." In obedience to the heavenly vision, Patrick went back to Ireland in 432, where his future life and work lay. He died on 17th March, probably in the year 461.

Meanwhile disturbing influences had been at work, and the career of the Scottish Church, which began so brilliantly, became overshadowed by political troubles, and for a while was lost to view. The vast Roman Empire, assailed by barbarian hordes, was being shaken to its foundations, and necessity compelled the evacuation of Britain during the year 410. The retreat of the Romans was followed during the two ensuing centuries by invasions of Germanic tribes from across the North Sea. Saxons settled in the south, while Angles came to Northumbria, and with them they brought German paganism. The Teutonic invaders obliterated all signs of Roman civilisation. The Angle-Saxon language asserted its supremacy, and the triumph of paganism appeared to be complete ; but it was not so.

More than a century elapsed after the withdrawal of the Romans before we come across any evidence, and it is meagre, that the Church still existed. Somewhere about the year 518 S. Kentigern was born at Culross in Fife, the son of Tanew—corrupted into S. Enoch, the outcast daughter of a chieftain in the Lothians. The earliest records of Kentigern were not written till more than five centuries after his death, and are so full of pious romance that it is difficult to discover any substratum of truth. Enoch, we are told, was welcomed by S. Serf [2] to whom an angelic choir had announced by singing the "Gloria in excelsis" that the infant would become a great man in the Church. With a joyful heart S. Serf sang the "Te Deum" and exclaimed, "He shall be my Munghu!" *i.e.* my dearest friend, and as S. Mungo he is best known. In due time he bade farewell to S. Serf at Culross and settled beside an ancient graveyard which had been consecrated by S. Ninian on the banks of the Molendinar Burn. Here in the centre of what is now the City of Glasgow, Kentigern lived in great austerity and laboured with much success. Persecution arising, Kentigern travelled southwards as far as Wales, where he met S. David, and founded the monastery of S. Asaph. Meanwhile matters were coming to a crisis between paganism and Christianity in Cumbria, and a decisive battle was fought at Arthuret near Carlisle in 573, which resulted in the triumph of the Church, and Kentigern was recalled to Glasgow.

---

[2] It may be as well to mention that S. Serf was not born till about two hundred years later.

After Kentigern's return to Glasgow, an event of great interest took place which the pious chronicler adorns with a wealth of mediaeval embroidery. It was the visit of S. Columba. "When he approached the place called Mellindenor," we are told, "he divided all his people into three bands, and sent forth a message to announce to the holy prelate his own arrival and that of those who accompanied him. The holy pontiff was glad when they said unto him those things concerning them, and calling together his clergy and people similarly in three bands, he went forth with spiritual songs to meet them. In the forefront of the procession were placed the juniors in order of time; in the second, those more advanced in years; in the third, with himself, walked the aged in length of days, white and hoary, venerable in countenance, gesture, and bearing, yea, even in grey hairs. And all sang, 'In the ways of the Lord how great is the glory of the Lord,' and again they answered, 'The way of the just is made straight, and the path of the saints prepared.' On S. Columba's side they sang with tuneful voices, 'The saints shall go from strength to strength, until the God of Gods appeareth every one in Zion' with the Alleluia. . . . When these two godly men met, they mutually embraced and kissed each other, and having "first satiated themselves with the spiritual banquet of Divine Words, they after that refreshed themselves with bodily food." Ere parting, Kentigern exchanged pastoral staffs with Columba as a token of brotherhood.

Some legends of Kentigern are recalled in the Arms of the City of Glasgow, which bear a tree, a robin, a salmon, a ring, and a bell. The tree represents a hazel which the saint kindled to a flame to light the lamps in the Church of Culross ; the robin—a pet bird of S. Serf's he restored to life ; and the bell he brought from Rome. The ring and the fish refer to a domestic drama enacted in the household of Roderic, King of Strathclyde. The king having found his wife's ring on the hand of her soldier lover, seized and flung it into the Clyde, and then demanding it from her, she was cast into a dungeon and threatened with death. In her extremity she implored Kentigern's aid ; her messenger was told to cast a hook into the river, with the result that a salmon was caught, which on being opened was found to contain the missing ring. Thus the King's wrath was appeased, the Queen was forgiven, and the royal pair lived happily ever afterwards.

Another memory of Kentigern is recalled by S. David's Church in Glasgow. It is known also as the Ramshorn Kirk, and this name is supposed to have arisen out of an unpleasant incident which marred the harmony of Columba's visit. Some " sons of the stranger " who followed the pilgrims, " merely by the advances of their feet, and not by the affection of devotion," proved unable to resist the temptation of stealing and killing a sheep belonging to their kind host. Kentigern graciously pardoned their misdeed, gave them the carcase, and improved the occasion by turning the sheep's head into stone, " to condemn the hardness and cruelty of those who carry off their neighbour's goods."

Kentigern won the hearts of the people as few have done, for he is mostly remembered by his pet name of Mungo. He lived to a great age, and probably died about the year 603. He was buried by the Mollendinar

Burn, the scene of his first labours, in what is now the crypt of the Cathedral of S. Mungo, which was founded some five hundred years afterwards. With the death of S. Kentigern the curtain falls on the history of the Church in Glasgow, and not for five centuries does it rise again. What took place there during this long period we know not, for history and tradition are alike silent.

CHAPTER II

ECCLESIA SCOTICANA

S. Patrick laboured so effectively in Ireland that at his death in the year 461 he left behind him a strong and vigorous church with marked characteristics of its own, destined to influence the Church in Scotland for centuries to come.

In the wilds of Donegal there was born of noble parents in the year 521 one who was baptised by the names of Crimthann, meaning a wolf, and Colum—a dove, more familiar in its latinised form of Columba. After attending the monastic school at Moville already referred to, he was ordained a presbyter at Clonard, then a famous seat of learning.

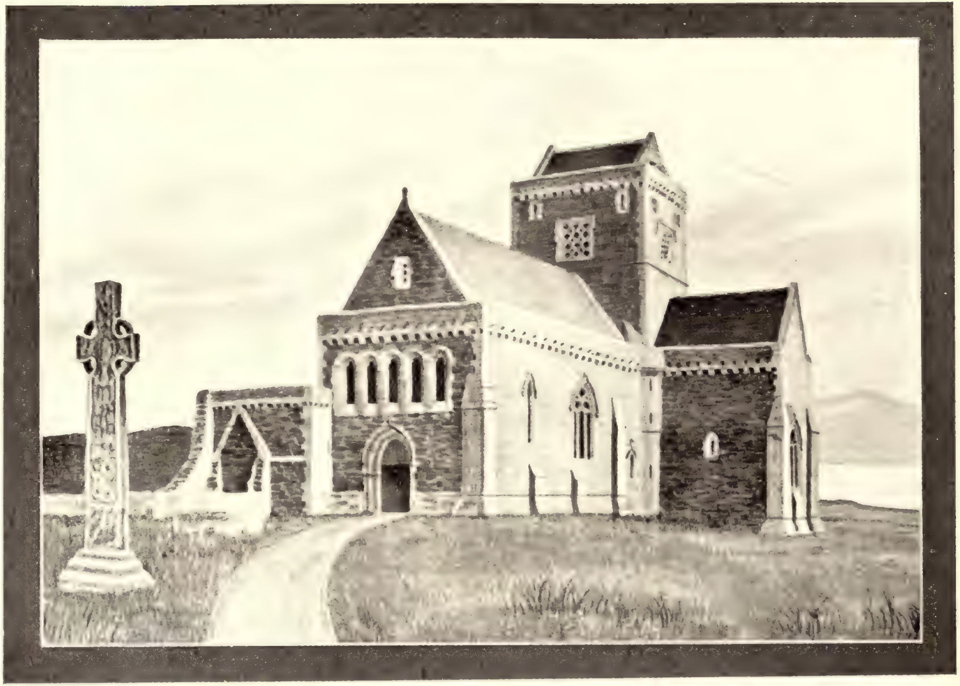
The cause of S. Columba's leaving Ireland is a matter of uncertainty. One story relates that S. Finnian lent him a manuscript of the Psalms and Gospels which he not only studied but also copied. Finnian considered that his copyright had been infringed and demanded the copy, but Columba after all his labour not unnaturally objected, and eventually the dispute was carried before the King of Meath who decreed, "To every cow belongs her calf, and so to every book its copy." Columba not being convinced by this reasoning took up arms, and a fierce battle ensued. Whatever truth there may be in the story it is tolerably certain that Columba, who combined a wolf-like fierceness with a dove-like gentleness, incurred the censure of the Church and was excommunicated. Counselled to do penance for his sins, he left his native land and devoted himself to missionary labours abroad.

Assured of a welcome from his kinsman Conal—King of Dalriada (Argyll), Columba, at the age of forty-two, accompanied by twelve companions, set sail from Ireland. Their frail coracle came first to the island of Oransay, where they landed, but finding that they could still see the cliffs of Ireland on a clear day, they again embarked, and finally, on Whitsun Eve, 563, came to Iona. The island lies about a mile off the south-west coast of Mull, and is some three miles long and about half as broad. One-third of its area might be cultivated, the remainder being rough hill pasture rising at one point to a height of 330 feet. A small bay at the southern end called Port-a-Churaich is said to have been the landing place of Columba in his caracle or coracle. No vestige of any of his buildings remains. They must have been of a primitive and humble nature, but there is little doubt that they occupied the site upon which in later times nobler buildings, the ruins of which are still standing, were reared. More ancient than any building is S. Oran's Cemetery, the burial-place of the monastery. Here were laid to rest, amid the dust of S. Columba's monks, the Scottish kings down to Malcolm Canmore. "It is the oldest regal cemetery of Great Britain," wrote Dean Stanley, "before Dunfermline, before Holyrood, before Westminster, before Windsor. . . With Oran's Cemetery ends the true historic connection of Iona with Columba. The Cathedral of Iona with its Norman arches carries us both by its style and its name to a region far removed from the first Celtic missionaries."

The Abbey Church of St. Mary's referred to was probably erected in the early part of the thirteenth century, and was not constituted a cathedral till the fifteenth century. At the Reformation it passed into private ownership and fell into ruin. With its massive central tower, pointed gables, and traceried windows, it presented a pathetic picture of departed glory on the desolate hillside. In 1899, the eighth Duke of Argyll restored the sacred buildings to the Church. Since then they have undergone careful and judicious restoration and once again divine worship is celebrated within the venerable walls of Iona Cathedral. "The saints also even of other churches," as S. Columba foretold, "regard it with no common reverence."

The little band of twelve disciples increased in course of time to one hundred and fifty, but no woman was ever allowed on the island. At the head of the community was the Abbot Columba, inspiring and ruling all. He is described by Adamnan, who wrote about one hundred years after Columba's death, as "angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order, and consummate prudence." He had a wonderful voice which on one occasion waxed so loud in chanting a psalm that the pagan audience was filled with amazement and terror. Columba "was beloved by all, for a holy joy ever beaming on his face, revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul."

The remarkable feature of the institution was that it was ruled by a presbyter and not by a bishop. No



THE ABBEY—CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF S. MARY AND S. MARTIN'S CROSS, IONA.

From a drawing by P. Macgregor Chalmers, Esq., I.A.

satisfactory explanation has been given as to why Columba was not made a bishop like Ninian and Kentigern. There is some evidence that he recognised the superior ecclesiastical status of a bishop as then understood, but apparently he did not attach much importance to it, and no official position could have enhanced his authority or influence. Under Columba were the "seniors," then the "working brothers," and lastly the "alumni" or juniors. The monks were regarded as the "family of Iona"; also as the "soldiers of Christ," and as such they rendered implicit obedience. The maintenance of the community necessitated a considerable amount of labour for the provision of food and clothing, and also for building operations and navigation. Apart from such manual labour, their time was chiefly occupied in celebrating Divine Service in Church, and in copying Holy Scripture and service books for the use of the new churches continually being established. Columba himself set a high standard of industry. "He never," we are told, "could spend the space of even one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation."

Two years after his arrival at Iona, Columba set out on his first missionary journey to visit Brude, King of the Northern Picts, at his capital near Inverness. That country had not yet been evangelised, and the Druids stoutly opposed Columba, who found the gates of the castle shut against him, but on his making the sign of the Cross they instantly flew open, and King Brude received him graciously. It was not long before the King yielded and was baptised, the people followed his example, and the death-knell of paganism in Scotland was sounded.

Another event of outstanding importance in Columba's life may be mentioned here. One night when the saint was staying in Hinba Island,[1] he saw in a mental ecstasy an angel sent to him from Heaven holding in his hand a book of glass regarding the appointment of kings. The meaning of the vision was that Conal, the King of the Scots in Dalriada, had died and a successor was needed. On three successive nights the angel appeared, and then Columba sailed across to Iona, "and there ordained Aidan (not to be confounded with S. Aidan, of whom hereafter) to be King . . . and laying his hand upon his head he consecrated and blessed him." There are two matters of extreme interest in the narrative. In the first place, it is said to give us the earliest authentic instance (A.D. 574) in Western Europe of the Christian consecration of a sovereign, and in the second place, it tells us that Columba, a presbyter, consecrated the founder of Scottish independence. After the ceremony, King Aidan and Columba went to Ireland and succeeded, at the Synod of Drumceat, in releasing the Scottish colonists in Dalriada from the obligation to pay tribute to the Scots in Ireland. The name of Scotia became superseded by that of Ireland, and ultimately the Scots colonists in Dalriada spread their name throughout the ancient kingdoms which make up the realm now called Scotland.

Very interesting and pathetic is the account Adamnan gives of Columba's last days. "The old man," we are told, "worn out with age, went in a cart one day in the month of May, to visit some of the brethren who were at work on the western side of the island, and having addressed some words of consolation to them, " he turned his face to the east, seated as he was in the chariot and blessed the island and its inhabitants." At the end of the week on the day of the Sabbath (Saturday), Columba, with his attendant, Diormit, went to bless the barn and announced, " at midnight which commenceth the solemn Lord's Day I shall go the way of our fathers." Diormit wept bitterly, and as they returned to the monastery, while resting on the way, a white pack-horse came up to the saint bowed down with old age, and laid its head on his bosom. The attendant hastened to drive it away, but Columba interposed, saying, " Let it alone, as it is so fond of me," and then he blessed the horse, which turned away from him in sadness.

---

[1] Identified with the most westerly of the Garveloch group situated between Scarba and Mull. It contains the ruins of rude buildings probably dating from the time of S. Columba.

Returning to the monastery, Columba entered his cell and resumed his work of transcribing the Psalter. Having come to the verse (Ps. xxxiv. 10), " They that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good," he said, " Here at the end of the page I must stop, and what follows let Baithene (one of the brethren) write." He then went into the church for evening service, and on returning to his cell, lay down on the bare flags as usual with but a stone for his pillow. At midnight, as the bell tolled for service, he rose and went into the church and knelt down by the altar. Diormit, who followed, saw the church illuminated by a heavenly light in the direction of the saint, which quickly disappeared. The monks, bearing lights, streamed into the church and burst into lamentations as they beheld their holy father expiring before the altar. Then Diormit, who was supporting Columba, raised his hand that he might bless the brethren, and the venerable father moved his hand as well as he was able, and having thus bestowed his benediction, he passed away. This occurred on the morning of the 9th June, 597, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the thirty-fourth year of his residence in Iona.

Columba completed in Argyll and the north the work begun by S. Ninian to the south of the Grampians, and brought to a conclusion the pagan era in Scotland. It is a remarkable fact that the evangelisation of the fierce and barbarous tribes of ancient Caledonia was effected, so far as history and tradition relate, without the death of a single martyr. Heroic Scottish martyrs there were in later days, as we shall see, but they did not suffer at the hands of the professing heathen.

After the death of S. Columba, the influence of Iona continued to extend. During the following century the attention of the monks was drawn to Northumbria, which extended from the Forth to the Humber, and was inhabited by pagan Angles. It had been divided into two kingdoms, Berenicia lying to the north, and Deira lying to the south of the Tyne. Edwin, King of Deira, invaded (617) Berenicia, and founded the city of Edinburgh, on which he bestowed his name. The sons of the King of Berenicia and such of their nobles as survived, fled for refuge to the Picts and Scots, and Oswald, one of the royal princes—a lad of thirteen years of age, went to Iona, where he remained for eighteen years. Meanwhile Edwin married a Christian princess and abandoned paganism. The story of his conversion is beautifully told by the Venerable Bede. In his perplexity, Edwin summoned a council of the wise men of his kingdom. His chief priest confessed his disappointment with the pagan gods. Another counsellor said that the present life of man, in comparison of that which is unknown to us, is like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein one sits at supper in winter, with a good fire in the midst, whilst without the storm rages. After a while the bird flies off again into the night. So this life of man appears for a short space ; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. " If therefore," he said, " this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." The Queen's chaplain Paulinus then preached so persuasively that the chief priest and Edwin professed their conversion. The pagan temples and idols were destroyed, and Paulinus was made Bishop of York. As a matter of course, the people followed their King and became Christians. Golden days followed, and it was said, " A woman and her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Edwin's day."

But it was too good to last. The pagan King of Mercia and the apostate King Caedwalla of Wales made war upon Edwin, who was defeated and slain. A great massacre of Christians followed, and paganism triumphed throughout Northumbria. The restoration of the Church was the work of the monks of Iona. Oswald came forth from his island refuge, rallied his people, and recovered the whole kingdom (635). He then sent messengers, not to Canterbury, but to Iona, desiring that the elders of the Scots " would send him a bishop, by whose instruction and ministry the English nation, which he governed, might be taught the advantages, and receive the sacraments of the Christian faith." A presbyter named Corman was sent, but he soon returned with a confession of failure. He had not been able to make any impression on the people because of their stubbornness and barbarism. A great council was held to consider the situation, when Aidan, one of the monks, said: "I am of opinion, brother, that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and did not at first, conformably to the apostolic rule, give them the milk of more easy doctrine, till being by degrees nourished with the word of God, they should be capable of greater perfection and be able to practise God's sublimer precepts." This view commended itself to the meeting, and they "concluded that he deserved to be made a bishop, and ought to be sent to instruct the unbelieving and unlearned—and accordingly, ordaining him, they sent him to their friend King Oswald to preach." [2]

Aidan found in Holy Island, then called Lindisfarne, a home which in many respects resembled Iona. It is somewhat smaller in size, and although lying a couple of miles off the Northumberland coast, the channel dries up at low water. Here he founded a monastery on the Iona model, except that it was presided over by a bishop and not by a presbyter-abbot, and it became the missionary centre from which the kingdom of Northumbria was evangelised. Aidan's first step was to enrol twelve English youths and train them to preach to the natives, for he himself could only speak Gaelic. In the meantime the King, well called S. Oswald, proved a willing and an able interpreter. "It was most delightful," wrote Bede, "to see the King himself interpreting the Word of God to his commanders and ministers." Scottish monks went everywhere preaching the gospel. Churches and monasteries were built, and amongst others the Abbey of Mailros (Melrose) was founded.

---

[2] See Note B, page 244.

It was in the neighbourhood of Melrose that a shepherd of unknown parentage named Cuthbert stepped on to the stage of history. One summer night (31st August, 651), while watching his master's flock near the river Leader, his companions being asleep, "he saw," says Bede, "a long stream of light break through the darkness of the night. In the midst of it a company of the heavenly host descended to the earth, and having received among them a spirit of surpassing brightness returned without delay to their heavenly home." A few days later Cuthbert learned the meaning of the vision. He had witnessed the passing of Aidan. Deeply impressed, he went to Old Melrose, where he was received into the monastery by Boisil, better known as S. Boswell. Here he remained for some years, ultimately becoming Prior. Tradition asserts that he visited Edinburgh and founded a church under the shadow of the castle (*sub castro*), where now stands the parish church of S. Cuthbert. On leaving Melrose, Cuthbert was appointed Abbot of Lindisfarne, where he lived a life of great austerity and devotion. He died in retirement in a cell on one of the Farne Islands in 687, and his body rests in the great cathedral at Durham which is dedicated in his memory.

Retracing our steps we find that Aidan was succeeded by Finan, another monk from Iona. His labours were also most successful, resulting in the conversion of the Prince of Mercia and the King of East Saxony and the evangelisation of their kingdoms. The extraordinary power and energy of the Celtic monks of Iona in those far-off centuries were the means, it will thus be seen, of drawing into the fold of the Church within somewhere about a quarter of a century, the three great pagan kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia and East Saxony, comprising the greater part of England from the Thames to the Forth.

Such a movement on the part of the Scottish Church could not fail to attract the notice of Canterbury. It was observed that the Scottish clergy kept Easter on a different day, and that they cut their hair in a manner different from the English clergy who opprobriously called it the tonsure of Simon Magus.[3] The difference had arisen from the isolation of Scotland as the result of the withdrawal of the Romans and the pagan invasions of England. Meanwhile Augustine and his clergy had brought new usages from Rome which were unknown at Iona. The usages were merely the occasion of a conflict, the causes were deeper and more important. It was the beginning of the assertion of Roman and English supremacy over the Scottish Church. The English Church had been captured for Rome by Augustine and his monks without much difficulty; the Scottish Church fought sturdily for her independence. The Pope himself, Honorius, wrote in vain to the clergy in Ireland, who were at one with the Scottish Church in this matter, "earnestly exhorting them not to think their small number, placed in the utmost border of the earth, wiser than all the ancient and modern Churches of Christ throughout the world, and not to celebrate a different Easter." The crisis came in the royal household of Northumbria, where the King kept Easter according to the Scottish Church and the Queen according to the Roman Church. In order to promote uniformity the King called a council at Whitby in the year 664 which met at a monastery recently established by S. Hilda. The Romanist champion, Wilfred, explained the intricacies of the reformed calendar, while Colman, the champion of the Scots, appealed to the examples of S. John the Apostle and Columba, neither of whom observed the Roman Easter, and pointed out that they were simply following in the ways of their fathers. The Scottish position was undoubtedly a strong one, but Wilfred completely turned it by a deft quotation which diverted the discussion into a new channel for which Colman was ill prepared.

---

[3] See Note C, page 245.

" Thou art Peter," he quoted, " . . . and to thee I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."

" Is it true, Colman," asked the King, " that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord ? "

" It is true, O King."

" Can you show any such power given to your Columba ? "

" None," replied Colman.

" Do you both agree that these words were principally directed to Peter and that the keys of Heaven were given to him by our Lord ? "

" We do," both champions replied.

" And I also say unto you," concluded the King, " that he is the doorkeeper whom I will not contradict, but will as far as I know and am able in all things obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys."

" All present," relates Bede, " gave their consent, and renouncing the more imperfect institution, resolved to conform to that which they found to be better."

But Colman, though unable at the moment to expose the fallacy of the King's argument, was unconvinced. Baffled and disappointed, he retired to Iona and finally ended his days on a little island off the Irish coast. Thus the mission of the Scottish Church in England came to an end.

But the matter did not rest there. The Roman party followed up their victory and carried their propoganda after the retreating Scots. In 710 Nectan, King of the Picts, adopted the Roman Easter and usages, and when the Iona clergy refused to conform they were expelled from the kingdom. Iona thus lost its primacy over the most of Scotland, and was reduced to its original sphere in Dalriada or Argyll. Here the Church continued to uphold its independence, and it was not until at least fifty-two years after the Whitby conference that even a partial submission to the will of Rome took place. This resulted in a schism in Iona, and rival abbots arose, but, in the end, the Roman party prevailed.

Towards the end of the eighth century a more serious cause of anxiety to the monks of Iona appeared. Strange craft came speeding over the sea bearing fierce heathen warriors from the North bent on vengeance and pillage. It is curious how Charlemagne (768-814) was largely responsible for the scourge which then and for long after afflicted our coasts so terribly. It happened that in his victorious march into Saxony and North Germany he relentlessly persecuted the inhabitants and forced them to become Christians. Thousands were slaughtered and others fled to Denmark and Scandinavia, where they nourished schemes of revenge. The coasts of Christian Scotland lay exposed to their fury. Their fleets first arrived at Iona in 795, when they sacked the monastery. They reappeared again and again, utterly destroying everything. The relics of S. Columba were removed for safety to Kells in Ireland and then in 850 to Dunkeld. By this time Kenneth MacAlpine, King of the Scots in Dalriada, had become King of the Picts, and Scotland as we know it was beginning to emerge into being. With the possession of the relics of S. Columba the primacy departed from Iona to Dunkeld and shortly afterwards to Abernethy. Even here the wild Norsemen penetrated and ravaged the country. Probably it was owing to these incursions that the Picts built the Round Tower at Abernethy for protection and defence, and did it so faithfully that it stands erect to-day.

With the union of the Picts and the Scots tribal life became transformed into national life. During the reign of Girg or Cyric (878-896) the Church is designated in historical records for the first time—*Ecclesia Scoticana,* while as yet the nation was only known by the name of Alban. It was not until 1034 after much had happened that the King was called *Rex Scotiae.* The Scottish Church, it will thus be seen, was an established institution long before the Kingdom of Scotland.

Alban was a purely Celtic kingdom lying to the north of the Forth and Clyde. In 1018 the Celts, by their victory at Carham on the Tweed, wrested the Lothians from the Angles of Northumbria, and somewhere about the same time Malcolm II. came into possession, probably by inheritance, of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. These two accessions of territory united the whole country into one kingdom, which was no longer Alban but had now become Scotland. The triumph of the Scots, however, proved the undoing of the Celtic kingdom.

The social and economic balance of the enlarged state was upset. The ecclesiastical and political centre of gravity gravitated from the barren Gaelic-speaking Highlands to the fertile English-speaking Lowlands. The English language asserted its supremacy and brought the Church into touch with Norman culture and with Western Christendom.

Somewhere at the beginning of the tenth century the primacy was transferred to St. Andrews, which had already risen into fame through the possession of some reputed relics of S. Andrew the Apostle. In 733, Acca, Bishop of Lindisfarne, for some reason or other fled from Hexham in Northumberland taking with him some reputed relics of the Apostle. He came to Kilrymont in Fife, now known as the City of St. Andrews. Than the possession of these relics, which were held in the greatest veneration, there is no reason known why this spot should have become for centuries the centre of Scottish church life. Nectan had placed the Picts under the patronage of S. Peter, but with the union of Picts and Scots, S. Andrew was chosen as the Patron Saint. These circumstances gave St. Andrews pre-eminence from the churchman's point of view, but the spot had hallowed memories of S. Rule or Regulus, who appears to have been a contemporary of S. Columba. Later chroniclers, however, have woven a picturesque legend of S. Rule which they have placed in the fourth century with the evident object of outdoing Iona and Candida Casa in the matter of antiquity. The story is, briefly, that in 345 the Emperor Constantine being about to besiege Patras in Greece, where S. Andrew had been martyred and where his body reposed, Regulus, the bishop, was warned by an angel to take certain bones from the Apostle's tomb and place them in safety. Having done so the angel appeared again and told Regulus to take ship and sail to the north with the relics until the vessel should be cast ashore. After surviving the perils of the deep for two years the frail craft was finally wrecked on the rocks at St. Andrews.

With the transfer of the primacy to St. Andrews the Celtic period of the Scottish Church may be said to have been brought to a close. Before parting from it mention must be made, however briefly, of two features which characterised it, viz. intense missionary energy and great artistic skill.

There are few parishes in Scotland where the fame of S. Columba or his disciples is not recorded in one manner or another. Space will only permit of making mention of a few of the more outstanding of the Celtic saints. S. Drostan in company with S. Columba himself founded a famous monastery at Deer in Buchan; S. Moluag established monasteries at Lismore, Rosemarkie, Mortlach, and elsewhere. S. Duthac laboured at Tain; S. Cathan at Kingarth (Kilchattan) in Bute; S. Dochona, better known as S. Machar, at Aberdeen; S. Fillan in Strathfillan; S. Blaan at Dunblane. S. Fergus is remembered in Caithness, at Glamis, and at S. Fergus in Buchan. S. Servanus or S. Serf, notwithstanding his legendary connection with S. Kentigern, more probably lived during this period in Fife, where he founded churches at Culross, Lochleven and elsewhere. S. Maolrubha established a famous monastery at Applecross, and evangelised throughout the north-western Highlands and Islands. S. Donan with a company of fifty followers was somewhat of an itinerant evangelist, and is remembered at Kildonan in Sutherland and in Arran.

The artistic skill of these early missionaries was of a very high order. Their work shows that their intellectual attainments were more in keeping with their spiritual exaltation than with the rude nature of their outward circumstances. The evidences which we thus have of their mental culture explains in some measure the remarkable success of their missionary labours. The artistic sense of the fitness of things is a gift of the greatest value in every walk of life, and not least in that of the Christian Evangelist.

Celtic art is possessed of eternal qualities which appeal to all ages. It is pure ; it is rich ; it is true. It is primitive, but there is nothing grotesque about it. It is elaborate, but has nothing superfluous. It is simple, but always dignified. There is never anything mean or unworthy about Celtic art. Like the organ, it cannot lend itself to anything trivial. It is essentially Christian.

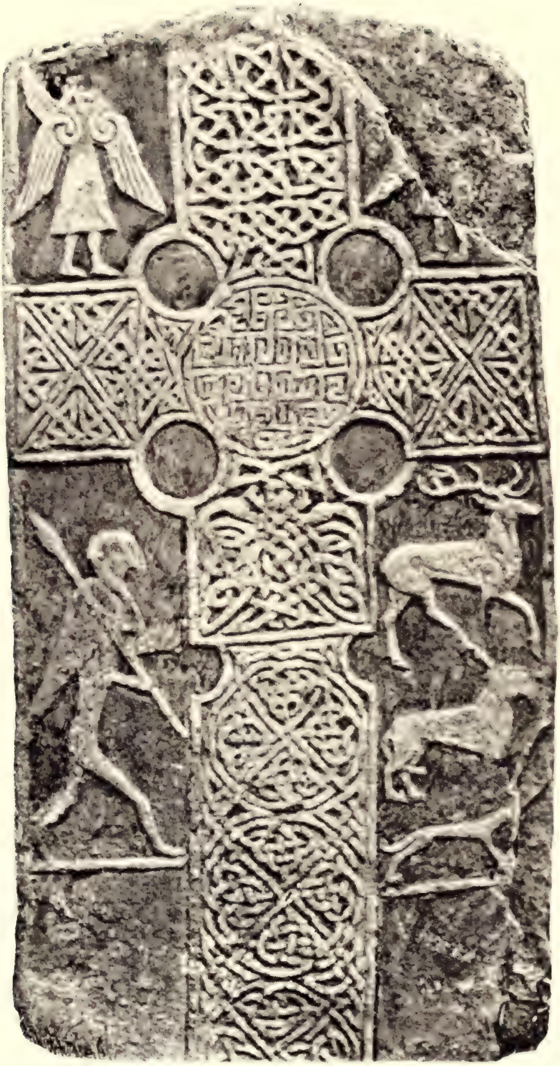
Celtic art is a precious heritage, too long neglected, of the Scottish Church. It found fullest expression and attained its highest development in decorated manuscripts, "*libri Scottice scripti*" written by the monks in their miserable cells. A considerable number of these manuscripts, many of them, however, no doubt produced in Ireland, have survived the vicissitudes of centuries and are preserved in various libraries. The most important is the Book of Kells, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It consists of 248 pages, decorated with marvellous elaboration, containing the four gospels in Latin. Another book, a Psalter, is enshrined in a silver case in the Royal Irish Academy. Both of these works are ascribed by tradition to the hand of S. Columba, the latter being, it is said, the identical copy of the Psalter which caused the dispute and battle already mentioned. Modern higher critics, however, assign them to a later date, probably the eighth or ninth century. So recently as 1854 a manuscript of extreme interest was discovered in the University Library of Cambridge. It consists of portions of the gospels, the Office for the Visitation of the Sick and the Apostles' Creed. It is known as the Book of Deer, and it belonged to the monastery founded there by SS. Columba and Drostan, and probably dates from the ninth century.

Among other relics of the Celtic period of the Church which have escaped destruction are hand-bells and pastoral staffs. The bells are of a very primitive type and are devoid of artistic features. They are made of iron or bronze, usually oblong at the mouth and contracted towards the other end, to which a simple handle is attached. S. Adamnan's bell, said to be an unquestionable relic of S. Columba's biographer, is preserved in the parish church of Insh near Kingussie. S. Fillan's bell measures 12 inches high and the mouth is 9 by 6 inches. These bells were held in the greatest veneration, and some of them were in later days placed in shrines of Celtic design of great beauty. S. Fillan's staff, which along with his bell is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, is also enclosed in a beautiful silver casing of later date.

More familiar are the sculptured stones and crosses of Celtic design. Those of purest form and earliest date are to be found in the eastern counties north of the Forth, where the Celtic element in the population has long since disappeared. They are distinguished by the absence of foliage forms in the scroll-work which is found in those of later date in the West Highlands.

With probably few exceptions these latter were produced after the expulsion of the Norsemen following upon the battle of Largs in 1263. Though Celtic in design such betray Gothic influences and properly belong to the mediaeval period of church history.

In glancing back at the Celtic period in the history of the Scottish Church, it will be observed that it was distinguished from continental Christendom by its organisation and its art. The latter was unique and was the genuine product of its Celtic genius. It owed no inspiration to the art of Rome, and Gothic art was as yet unborn. The organisation of the Church was the product of local circumstances. Theories of divine right of presbytery or episcopacy had no part in her constitution, and she neither attempted to domineer over neighbouring churches nor allowed them to domineer over her. Mutual respect characterised the relations of the Churches in Scotland and Ireland. During the Celtic period the Church was organised on monastic lines. The Presbyter-Abbot ruled with a council of elders over the monastery and its branch establishments, and the bishop, when there was one, had no diocese, but occupied a subordinate position analogous to that of a chaplain in a public institution at the present day. It was a position of function but not of power; the bishop was a servant, not the "overseer." The peculiarity of this organisation was due not to any intentional policy of dissent from the rest of western Christendom, but simply to the remoteness and isolation of the Scottish Church subsequent to the break up of the Roman Empire. During the interruption of communications which ensued, the Church of Rome had been consolidating itself and developing its doctrine and organisation.



CELTIC CROSS-SLAB AT EASSIE, FORFARSHIRE.

A similar process was taking place in the Church of the Scots, and it is not surprising that divergencies and antagonisms manifested themselves in course of time. When the inevitable crisis arose, as it did in the matter of Easter and other usages, between Roman supremacy and Scottish independence, the presbyter monks of Iona disregarded the Pope. It is permissible to think that in the end their submission was due more to the merits of the reformed calendar and the power of fashion than to the acceptance of the claims of Rome and Canterbury. The complete subjection of the Scottish Church to the Church of Rome was not realised for fully four hundred years after this, as we shall presently see.

CHAPTER III

THE FEUDAL-ROMAN PHASE

WITH the passing away, in 735, of that diligent chronicler the Venerable Bede, the affairs of the Scottish Church relapsed once more into well-nigh impenetrable obscurity. Only a few of the more important events, such as have already been related, left their mark on the meagre records of this period. More than three hundred years rolled on ere this dark era passed away and another chronicler arose to unveil the scene for us. When the curtain rises we see that the Celtic period is closing and that the Middle Ages are hastening on.

The Norman Conquest of England in 1066 was the immediate cause of far-reaching effects in Scotland. Edgar the Atheling, the rightful heir to the throne, after making an ineffectual effort to recover his kingdom was forced to flee before the invaders. With his widowed mother, the Princess Agatha of Bavaria, and his sisters Margaret and Christina, he set sail from Wearmouth on his way back to Hungary—the land of his birth, a disappointed, uncrowned king. But the vessel bearing the royal refugees encountering storms and contrary winds was driven northwards, and seeking shelter in the Firth of Forth, cast anchor at St. Margaret's Hope, between Rosyth and the Forth Bridge.

The King of Scotland, Malcolm III. Canmore, welcomed his royal visitors at Dunfermline and entertained them hospitably. He had lost his wife Ingebiorg, widow of the Northman Earl Thorfinn, and readily fell under the charm of the Princess Margaret whom he married, probably about the year 1070. Few marriages have been more fateful in history. It proved a turning point in the life of the royal family, of the nation, and of the Church. The current was deflected from Celtic and Norse channels and began to flow from England and the Continent. The names Ingebiorg-Malcolm-Margaret symbolise the situation.

Margaret was the child of strange circumstances and varied influences. Her father, nephew of Edward the Confessor and heir to the throne of England, had been sent as a child to seek refuge in Hungary, where he afterwards married the Princess Agatha, probably a niece of the sainted King Stephen and his queen who was a sister of the Emperor Henry II. It was a stirring time when Margaret was a child, for the controversy between Constantinople and Rome culminated in the great schism of 1054, when the Eastern and Western Churches separated. Her education begun in Hungary was completed in England, where she arrived in 1057, when her father was recalled from exile. In Margaret there came to Scotland a high-born lady of pious disposition, a cultured mind, wide experience for her years, and a strong character.

Turgot, her confessor and biographer, wrote,[1] " When she was present no one ventured to utter even one unseemly word, much less to do aught that was objectionable." " It was due to her that the merchants who came by land and sea from various countries brought along with them for sale different kinds of precious wares which until then were unknown in Scotland." "Her chamber was . . . so to speak a workshop of sacred art in which . . . church ornaments of an admirable beauty were always to be seen, either already made or in course of preparation." Not without reason has this good, womanly queen been acclaimed by common consent as S. Margaret of Scotland.

---

[1] W. Forbes-Leith, S. J., *Life of S. Margaret.*

Margaret could not have taken long to discover that the Scottish Church differed in some respects from the Church of the Holy Roman Empire in which she had been baptised and brought up. In the course of five hundred years—from the sixth to the eleventh centuries—the divergence between the Scottish and Roman Churches became marked. Theological speculations had become crystallised into doctrines, and the position of respect, in which on many grounds the Bishopric of Rome had been held, second only to the see of Jerusalem, became overshadowed by an ever-growing assumption of authority and dominion after the fall of the Holy City (637). Papal supremacy reached its greatest triumph during the pontificate of Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073-85) in the abject humiliation of the Emperor at Canossa (1077). This event, which created the most profound impression throughout western Christendom, took place but a few years after Margaret's arrival in Scotland. The revelation it made of the power of Rome, explains in a measure the success of her efforts to win the Scottish Church. The clergy had to decide between conformity or Canossa; they prudently chose the former.

Turgot, who was a Benedictine monk, only mentions a few matters of minor importance which were considered at church councils and passes over in silence questions of doctrine. He describes with some detail how the Queen, supported by her foreign clergy, advocated the Roman usages in English, while the native clergy defended the Scottish usages in Gaelic, and the King, who knew both languages but little theology, acted as interpreter. The question of the proper day on which Lent should commence was debated. In the Scottish Church the observance of Lent had always begun forty days before Easter in commemoration of our Lord's fast in the wilderness, which was one of forty consecutive days. This primitive custom had been altered by the Roman Church somewhere about the seventh or eighth century by deducting the Sundays during Lent, which had become days of feasting rather than fasting, and adding six week-days to make up the number to forty. Ash Wednesday accordingly now falls forty-six days before Easter, and much of the significance of the fast has been lost. On Easter Day the custom of partaking of Holy Communion had been abandoned owing to a mistaken sense of unworthiness and a superstitious fear of eating and drinking judgment, just as in modern times similar misconceptions have prevented many, especially in the Highlands, from taking the Sacrament. In the eyes of Margaret and her friends the Mass appeared to be celebrated according to some "barbarous rite." What this rite was we do not know, but there is no reason to suppose it was of a primitive New Testament type, or that it was conducted in the Gaelic language. More probably it was a survival of the early Gallican liturgy which had been superseded elsewhere by Gregory's revised and simplified mass-book. Other questions related to marriage within certain prohibited degrees, and the neglect of observing Sunday as a day of rest. On all these questions the Queen prevailed, and the Scottish Church was brought into conformity with Roman usages.

Margaret and her foreign chaplains found a complete absence of anything of the nature of diocesan episcopacy in the Scottish Church. It still retained its original monastic character, and its clergy were known as Culdees —a word most probably derived from *Keledei* in Gaelic meaning—the friend or spouse of God. Of the Culdees little is known ; some were hermits, others were married, and Crinan, Malcolm Canmore's father, had been lay abbot of Dunkeld. The Culdees were not an exclusively Scottish institution. There was an important body bearing a similar name in Ireland, and there were others also to be found in England and Wales. When, however, the Roman monastic orders, with their newborn zeal and discipline, their intellectual accomplishments and organisation, overspread the land, the Culdees found themselves hopelessly outclassed, though it was not until the fourteenth century that they finally disappeared from the stage of Scottish history.

During the period from the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret in 1070 to the death in 1153 of their son David I.—that " sair saint of the Crown," as one of his successors pathetically remarked—the Church of Scotland underwent a constitutional change of vast importance. Celtic monastic administration was superseded by the Roman monastic orders and by diocesan episcopacy. The change was wrought gradually, and much of the old was incorporated in the new. It was not the product of a popular storm of moral indignation arising from a spiritual awakening such as four centuries later produced a new reformation upon the ruins of the Roman *régime*. As far as history records, it was unaccompanied by either persecution or tumult. The old order had run its course ; it had accomplished its work and it passed away. The new organisation and administration won acceptance by reason of the superior culture and wider experience of its *personnel*. It signified the triumph of European civilisation over tribal barbarism.

The new territorial organisation of the Church grew up gradually with the feudal system. The hierarchy of clerics in the Church corresponded to the hierarchy of nobles in the State, and both alike were founded on a territorial basis. It was regarded as a duty which the proprietor of an estate owed to God, to his people, and to himself to build a church, and endow it by providing a manse and glebe, and by tithing the produce of the land after the example of the Old Testement.[2] Many of the smaller monastic churches were made into parochial charges. It was in this manner that the endowed territorial system originated which has served us so well. From the same cause also arose the system of lay patronage which led to many evils both in mediaeval and modern times ; for when a landed proprietor built and endowed a church, it was not unnatural for him to think that he had a right to appoint the parson.

The presence of so many foreign—English and Continental—clerics in Scotland led to problems arising out of the relations between the Scottish and other churches. Prolonged scheming and striving for mastery and lordship were met by resolute resistance and a sturdy assertion of independence. The appointment of Turgot, Prior of Durham, to the bishopric of St. Andrews raised a question about his consecration as though there had never before been a bishop in Scotland. The ceremony was about to be performed by the Bishops of Orkney and Durham and the Archbishop of York, when the Archbishop of Canterbury protested on the ground that his brother of York had not himself been consecrated. Thereupon the Scottish clergy interposed and declared that neither York nor Canterbury had any right to interfere with the doings of the Scottish Church. Finally the Kings of Scotland and England intervened, and a compromise was effected by which Turgot was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, who in the interval had himself been consecrated—the right of all parties being reserved. Upon the death of Turgot similar difficulties arose, and the see lay vacant for a number of years. At last the King appointed Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, to the bishopric of St. Andrews. Thereupon York persuaded his sovereign to prevent the consecration of Eadmer, who finally abandoned his appointment. The astute diplomacy of Alexander I. in playing off the rivalry between York and Canterbury preserved the independence of the Church upon the introduction of the Roman hierarchy.

---

[2] See Note D, page 245.

The position became more assured during the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214). It was indeed seriously imperilled during the King's captivity in France, but it was adroitly saved through the nimble wits of the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, who agreed, in the infamous Treaty of Falaise, that the English Church should have that right over the Scottish Church which it ought to have—and of course this could be interpreted in such a way as to mean nothing.

The dispute came to a crisis at Northampton in 1176 when the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Petraleoni, held a council at which representatives of both churches were present and also the Kings of Scotland and England. At this imposing assembly the Legate urged the advantage which would arise from the union of the two churches, and counselled the Scots to submit to the English clergy. Whether he would have succeeded better by counselling the English to submit to the Scottish clergy may be open to question, but Gilbert de Moray voiced Scottish sentiment when he said : " The Church of Scotland ever since the faith of Christ was embraced in that kingdom has ever been a free and independent church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our metropolitan, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will." The Archbishop of Canterbury then claimed that the Scottish clergy should yield canonical obedience to him and not to York, but this proposal created such an altercation between the rival English Archbishops that the council broke up leaving matters as they were —and so the independence of the Scottish Church was preserved.

A couple of years later the question was reopened on the death of the Bishop of St. Andrews. The chapter elected John Scott, one of their archdeacons, to the vacant see, but the King insisted on the appointment of his own chaplain Hugh, who was duly consecrated by the Scottish bishops. John appealed to the Pope, who sent a legate to Scotland, and after hearing both sides decided in his favour and solemnly consecrated him. King William the Lion's next move was to banish Bishop John and all his supporters. The Pope replied through his legate, the Archbishop of York, with a threat of excommunication and interdict if Bishop John were not put in possession of his bishopric. The King who thereupon defied the Pope was courageous to the verge of recklessness, for Alexander III., who then occupied the Papal Chair, was one of the most masterful Popes of the Middle Ages. He it was who excommunicated the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and brought him to his knees; and who had first excommunicated and then imposed a humiliating penance upon King Henry II. of England for the murder of Thomas à Becket. The sentence of excommunication was duly launched from York and the whole kingdom laid under interdict. The churches and chapels were closed, absolution and masses ceased, and a cloud of papal wrath hung over the land. Fortunately for Scotland the Pope died shortly afterwards. William the Lion hastened to make friends with his successor; a compromise was effected; Bishop John was given the see of Dunkeld, and Bishop Hugh—the King's nominee, remained master of the situation at St. Andrews. To cement their reconciliation the Pope sent the golden rose, a distinguished mark of papal favour, to the King of Scotland—well named William the Lion.

In the course of a few years after these events, the Pope issued a Bull [3] by which the pretensions of York and Canterbury to lordship over the Scottish Church were completely and finally dismissed. "The Scottish Church," it was declared, "ought to be subject without any mediator to the Apostolic See, whose special daughter she is"; that the Pope alone, or his legate *a latere*, should have power to pronounce sentence of interdict or excommunication; that none should be capable of exercising the office of legate except a Scottish subject or a member of the sacred College of Cardinals; and that no appeal concerning benefices should lie out of Scotland "unless to the Roman Church."

---

[3] The Bull *Cum universi*, 1188, specially mentions the "Roman Church" and the "Scottish Church," and adjusts their mutual relations. See *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (Bann. Club) i. xxxix.

The Church of Scotland thus escaped from the Scylla of England to fall into the Charybdis of Rome, but if circumstances did not then permit of complete independence William at least chose the lesser of two evils. The big battalions of York and Canterbury lay across the border, but the big battalions of Rome were ultramontane—and immaterial. On the whole Scottish diplomacy came off well in its encounters with Rome—but it had its reverses.

The mediaeval dream embodied in the Holy Roman Empire never materialised in Scotland. That Christendom should be governed by the Emperor in secular matters and by the Pope in spiritual matters was no doubt an attractive theory. Where the Emperor's sceptre was acknowledged, the Pope's claims were admitted as a matter of course. But Scotland knew nothing of the Emperor and cared less, and the Pope was not always regarded with deference far less obedience. Though England was in a similar position with regard to the Holy Roman Empire, the circumstances were different in one important respect which led to an open rupture between Scotland and Rome. King John, whose quarrelsome, treacherous nature brought him into perpetual trouble, defied the Pope, who excommunicated him and placed his kingdom under interdict. In the end he was obliged to yield and surrender, in a humiliating manner, his kingdom "to Pope Innocent and his successors in the Papal Chair." England thus became the feudal vassal of Rome as Scotland was about to discover to its cost. Alexander II., supported by the Magna Charta barons in England, invaded Papal Northumberland. The Pope then came to the rescue of his vassal, King John, and placed Scotland under interdict (February, 1217-18). After the restoration of peace with England, Alexander was reconciled to the Pope and the interdict was removed.

In 1225 relations with Rome had so greatly improved that the Pope gave authority to the clergy to hold provincial councils in Scotland. The convener, called the "Conservator of Statutes," was appointed by the bishops and held office for one year, the council meeting annually for three days. The membership consisted of bishops, abbots, and priors; procurators of cathedrals and monasteries; and the King was represented by two doctors of civil law as his commissioners. In the Church Council we see a great step made towards recovering the independence of the Church, and a far-off precursor of the General Assembly. One of the objects of the Scottish clergy in seeking for the establishment of the Church Council was to curb, if not to stop, the interference and exactions of the envoys or legates of the Pope. Scotland had poured out her wealth lavishly in the foundation and erection of great and costly cathedrals and churches, abbeys and priories, but all her sacrifices failed to moderate the insatiable demands of Rome.

Some years later, Alexander II. and Henry III., who was accompanied by an Italian legate, met at York and arranged some affairs of state together. Before parting the Legate intimated that he intended to pay a visit to Scotland before returning to Rome. According to an English chronicler—Matthew Paris—the King's reply was not encouraging. "I have never," he said, "seen a Legate in my dominions, and as long as I live I never will." Moreover he warned him of the ferocity of his subjects and their thirst for human blood, and how he could neither tame nor restrain them. The Legate deemed it wise to defer his visit till a more convenient season. Some years later he got as far as Edinburgh, where he held a Council, but the King refused to see him.

It cannot be denied that Scotland was fast becoming a very troublesome daughter of Rome, largely the result of the discredit into which her alleged parent had fallen. The capture of the person of the Pope by the French in 1303, and his enforced internment and exile in Avignon, broke the magic spell of his excommunications, which as they increased in number decreased in effectiveness. Robert the Bruce was excommunicated for the murder of Comyn in the Church of the Greyfriars at Dumfries, but it passed unheeded by the Scottish clergy, who were the King's staunchest supporters in the struggle for national independence. After the battle of Bannockburn, the Pope endeavoured to restore peace, and sent two cardinals to England with this object in view. The papal letter was not addressed to "the King of Scotland," but to "the noble Robert Bruce at present governing the kingdom of Scotland." Bruce felt the insult and refused to receive the letter, saying with a smile that there were others of the same name sharing in the government and possibly it might be intended for one of them. The crestfallen envoys were dismissed and had to take the letter back to the cardinals. Again another messenger, a humble Franciscan friar, was sent bearing a papal bull ordering a truce. It was addressed in similar terms, and Bruce also declined to receive it ; moreover the unfortunate friar was waylaid by some ruffians on his way back to their Eminences who had prudently remained in England, and was shamefully maltreated, being robbed of his documents and stripped of his clothes, in which sorry plight he was afterwards discovered.

Once more Bruce was solemnly excommunicated, and under the censures of the Roman authorities he remained until within a year of his death, though the excommunication was suspended as a result of an address sent to the Pope from a parliament which assembled at Arbroath in 1320. The address is a dignified protest against the wicked and ruthless invasion of Scotland. It complains that, " Edward, King of England and father of the present monarch, covering his hostile designs under the specious disguise of friendship and alliance, made an invasion of our country at the moment when it was without a king, and attacked an honest and unsuspicious people then but little experienced in war." The slaughters and devastations which he committed—the burning of monasteries, his spoliations and murders of priests and the other enormities of which he was guilty are indicated and then follows these noble and memorable words—" As long as a hundred Scotsmen are left alive, we will never be subject to the dominion of England. It is not for glory, riches, or honour that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with his life."

The address is a strange mixture of respectful courtesy and sturdy independence. " Wherefore, most reverend Father;" it continues, " we humbly pray and from our hearts beseech your Holiness . . . to admonish the King of England that he should be content with what he possesses, seeing that England of old was enough for seven or more kings and not disturb our peace in this small country lying on the utmost boundaries of the habitable earth and whose inhabitants desire nothing but what is their own." In conclusion they solemnly warn the Pope that if he does not cease to favour the English, " be well assured," they add, " that the Almighty will impute to you that loss of life, that destruction of human souls and all those various calamities "—which must necessarily follow.

One of the most surprising features of the situation produced by the war was the patriotic spirit of the clergy. The Roman organisation had been imported from England, but in the course of a couple of centuries it had become completely Scoticised. " The clergy," writes Andrew Lang, " saved Scotland's freedom. They later preached for it, spent for it, died for it on the gibbet, and imperilled for it their immortal souls by frequent and desperate perjuries." But they were not merely fighting against England. Rome, from which they derived their position and authority, was actually supporting England and turning its heavy artillery against them. Yet, with undaunted courage they held their own against the spiritual forces of the Pope as against the material weapons of England. This experience had far-reaching effects ; it showed that the Church could dispense with Rome. The Church had been Romanised in many respects, but it was still, in the depth of the Middle Ages, essentially a national institution.

A peculiar feature of the Church of Scotland at this stage was that it was without a metropolitan. The lack of an archbishop caused much inconvenience and expense through appeals having to be taken to Rome which otherwise would have been disposed of in Scotland. The appointment of a metropolitan archbishop came about through the Archbishop of York reviving the old and rejected claim to supremacy and jurisdiction over the Scottish Church. It so happened that Bishop Graham of St. Andrews was at that time in Rome, and he then succeeded in obtaining from the Pope (Sixtus IV.) a bull, dated 27th August, 1472, erecting the see of St. Andrews into an archbishopric for the whole of Scotland, including the diocese of Galloway which had hitherto been subject to York, and the dioceses of the Isles and of Orkney hitherto subject to Drontheim.

The new archbishop, though he had united the whole church in Scotland and effectually thwarted the claims of York, tragically failed to win the gratitude of his suffragans. They complained that the appointment had been obtained without their knowledge or consent ; they had been accustomed to an annual Conservator appointed by themselves, and they feared the reforming zeal of an archbishop ; but what they objected to most was that the new archbishop was also the Papal Nuncio who was commissioned to tax their benefices for a new crusade. A dead set was made against the unfortunate prelate, and strange accusations were made against him by the king, clergy, and people. The Pope sent a nuncio to enquire into the *fama*, and in the end Archbishop Graham, whose mind had probably become affected by his misfortunes, was deprived of office and imprisoned for life. His fall was largely brought about by Sheves—one of his archdeacons, whose promotion to the vacant primacy bears a sinister aspect. Sheves was confirmed in the archbishopric by the Pope who conferred on him the title of Primate of all Scotland, *legatus natus*, privileges equivalent to those enjoyed by Canterbury. These ecclesiastical honours bestowed on St. Andrews roused the jealousy of Glasgow. If St. Andrews was to be as Canterbury, Glasgow was clearly entitled to be as York, so it was assumed. Accordingly after some negotiation Glasgow was raised to an archbishopric in 1492, largely through the influence of the King, James IV., who was a canon of the cathedral.

The enthusiasm for the Crusades which was so widespread and so powerful on the Continent appears to have but tardily affected Scotland. Doubtless her remote and isolated geographical position was largely responsible for her apparent lukewarmness in a cause which appealed so strongly to the religious and chivalrous manhood of the age. About a century elapsed after Peter the Hermit's voice had been silenced in death ere we read of the call coming to Scotland. In 1211 Bishop Malvoisin of St. Andrews preached a crusade at Perth and met with some success among the people, but the upper classes held aloof. Towards the end of the century a crusade was organised by the Earls of Atholl and Carrick, Lord Douglas, and others. It proved a disastrous expedition ; few of the brave crusaders ever returned. Atholl fell before Tunis fighting under the sainted Louis IX. of France, and Carrick lies with many another brave Scot in Palestine.

The glamour of the Crusades appealed strongly to the heroic soul of Robert the Bruce long after others had given up in despair the hope of recovering the Holy City. The King vowed that he would assume the cross himself if ever his kingdom should be in peace. But it was not to be ; and as he lay dying at Cardross surrounded by his faithful nobles he remembered his vow. Turning to the good Lord James, the Black Douglas, he said, " Go thou in my stead, that I may be acquitted for my broken vow. Take my heart and lay it in the sepulchre of the Redeemer." When the King passed away, Douglas placed the heart in a golden casket and set forth on his mission. There is something pathetic and even sublime in the faith of Bruce and the devotion of Douglas. The Knights Templars had been disbanded in disgrace ; the Teutonic Knights had abandoned Palestine in despair and were engaged in converting the Prussians—a task apparently not yet completed ; and the Knights of St. John had settled down in pleasant quarters leaving the holy places in undisturbed possession of the Infidel.

Yet, undeterred by the failure of the great military orders, without allies, and with no resources beyond themselves, Douglas and a handful of followers embarked from the shores of their native land on their heroic but foredoomed mission. On landing in Flanders he learned that King Alonzo was waging war against the Moors in Spain and resolved to proceed to his assistance. Disaster speedily overtook Douglas who, through his impetuous bravery got separated in battle from his companions, and being surrounded by the enemy, cast his precious casket into their midst crying, "Now pass onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die!" Douglas followed and died. The body of the good Lord James was recovered and laid to rest in Douglas Church, and the heart of the Bruce, which was also recovered, was deposited under the high altar in Melrose Abbey.

The outbreak of the War of Independence interrupted the studies of Scottish youths at Oxford, where the parents of King John Baliol had founded Baliol College for their education sometime between 1263 and 1268. They were thus forced to go further afield, and increasing numbers were attracted to Paris where the Bishop of Moray founded in 1313 the Scots' College. In 1325 he endowed it with the farm of La Fermette, which after the vicissitudes of almost six centuries still remains the property of a foundation known as the Scots' College, and supports some students studying for the priesthood of the Roman Church.[4]

It was not until 1410 that university education was obtainable in Scotland. In that year Bishop Henry Wardlaw founded the University of St. Andrews, which three years later was duly confirmed by the anti-Pope Benedict XIII. S. Salvator's College was founded by Bishop Kennedy in 1450; S. Leonard's in 1512 by the youthful Archbishop Stewart, who fell at Flodden; and S. Mary's in 1537 by Archbishop James Beaton, uncle of the Cardinal. The University of Glasgow was founded by Bishop Turnbull in 1450, and that of Aberdeen by Bishop Elphinstone in 1494. The University of Edinburgh was founded by James VI.

---

[4] See *Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1907.

in 1582—after the Reformation—upon a bequest by Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney.

The political situation influenced in a marked degree the progress of ecclesiastical as well as domestic architecture. Prior to the War of Independence the Norman and First Pointed styles were identical in both kingdoms. The disturbed state of the country and the destruction of wealth during the war retarded the introduction of the Decorated style until it had almost passed away in England, where it was succeeded by the Perpendicular style. This latter—so essentially and characteristically English—is conspicuous by its absence in Scotland, where it only exists in an odd window here and there. On the other hand, the Decorated style became influenced by the French Flamboyant style, and this continued until it was superseded by the Renaissance.

The re-organisation of the Church of Scotland, which took place through the influence of Margaret during the reigns of Malcolm Canmore and his sons from 1070 to 1153, was characterised by the introduction of the Roman monastic orders and the institution of diocesan episcopacy ; the former were the pioneers and prepared the way for the latter, and both existed side by side till they were swept away at the Reformation. The monastic clergy were called the "regular" clergy because they lived in community under the rule of their order, and the parochial clergy were called the "secular" clergy because they lived and laboured in the world among the haunts of men.

The communal life of the monks presented many advantages. The monastery was a centre of civilisation as well as of religious influence. Through the parent establishments of the different orders in Italy and

France, and also through the more direct connection with their branches in England, the monks had a wide and varied experience and were equipped with the best education then to be obtained. Settled down in the midst of an isolated and backward community, the monasteries became centres of light and leading. The orderly, methodical life of the inmates—the "*laborare*" and the "*orare*"—were object-lessons to all around. New and improved methods of agriculture were introduced. Architects, masons, and carpenters were imported, and vast and marvellous buildings, such as the Celts never conceived, began to be reared throughout the land wherever the monks made a home. These were adorned with costly and beautiful works of art. The goldsmith, the silversmith, the woodcarver, the glass-stainer, the weaver, the painter, all plied their crafts within the monastery walls, working to make the House of God beautiful and glorious. The establishment of a monastery in those rude ages was a renaissance in itself. It opened the door into the marvellous world of Gothic art.

In a more direct manner the monastery was an educational centre, and in this respect it enjoyed a monopoly. Here alone was any education to be had, and hither came the sons of nobles and the aspirants to a clerical career. The deplorable state of ignorance into which a large proportion of the clergy had fallen prior to the Reformation is so notorious, that the zeal of the monks in promoting education in earlier and better days is apt to be forgotten. It was from such sources that many of the wandering Scots scholars came, who made themselves and their country famous in continental seats of learning during the Middle

Ages. The monastery was a great school—elementary, technical, agricultural—a school of art, philosophy, and theology. Before the invention of the printing press, it was the seat of an extensive industry for producing manuscripts of Church books and other literature.

The monastery was also a great social centre. The twelfth century was a time of intense ecclesiastical activity. Clerics of all grades were coming and going continually, and the hospitable doors of the monastery were ever open for the entertainment of travellers. The pilgrim and the wayfarer were always sure of their supper and a night's shelter in the hospice. The news of all the countryside and of the great wide world was brought to the monastery. The sick, the infirm, and the poor found in the monks friends in their time of need, for medical knowledge centred in the monasteries, and even the poor leper, for such existed, was tended and cared for. As landlords the monks compared favourably with the barons. Their tenants usually got easy terms and secure tenure, and in addition they received much help with regard to agriculture and buildings. In short, a strong monastery was of the greatest benefit to the land and people. The advantages were so manifest that the country rapidly became studded with abbeys and priories. The total number of monastic establishments appears to have been about 189, of which 24 were convents, and 83 or more were hospitals. It is estimated that there were somewhere about 1600 monks and friars of all grades and 200 nuns. Some of the hospitals were called *Maisons Dieu* as at Brechin, and the sites or lands of others may be traced in various parts of the country through the occurrence of the word Spital either alone or in conjunction with a name. Hospitals were of four different kinds, viz., (1) for the ordinary sick, (2) for lepers, (3) alms-houses, and (4) rest-houses for pilgrims and wayfarers.

The Roman monastic orders were divided into two main classes, viz. the Rented and the Mendicant. The former, which was the earlier, possessed lands and endowments, and the latter were the friars (from the French *frère*) who subsisted, or were supposed to subsist, by begging alms. The more important establishments were called "Abbeys," and were presided over by Abbots (derived from the Hebrew "*ab*" and the Syriac "*abba*," meaning "father"). Establishments of lesser importance were called "Priories" from being presided over by Priors. A monastery in connection with a cathedral, as at St. Andrews and Whithorn, was always called a Priory. Some of the monasteries possessed small branch establishments in the country called "Cells," which were used as places of retreat and penitence: thus, St. Mary's Isle Priory, Kirkcudbright; Blantyre Priory; Rowadil Priory, Harris; Oransay Priory; and Colonsay Abbey were Cells of Holyrood Abbey.

First in importance and among the first to be founded was the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline. It was Benedictine monks led by Augustine, afterwards first archbishop of Canterbury, who brought the English Church within the fold of Rome in the beginning of the seventh century, and the same order contributed largely to bring about a similar result in Scotland five centuries later. They are sometimes called "Black Monks" from the loose black robe and cowl which they wear, but they are to be distinguished from the

"Black Friars" who were Dominicans. The Benedictines were noted for their energy and success as a missionary, educational, and civilising organisation.

Dunfermline Abbey arose out of the Culdee Church wherein Malcolm and Margaret were married. The foundations of this ancient church have recently been discovered under the floor of the massive Norman nave which alone remains of the Abbey Church erected by their son David I., who brought an abbot and twelve monks from the Benedictine Priory of Canterbury and established them at Dunfermline. The Abbey Church was the last resting-place of the great and mighty. It succeeded Iona as the place of royal sepulture. Eight kings, five queens, seven princes, two princesses besides other notabilities are said to be interred here. When Queen Margaret was canonised (1250), her body was brought from the choir of the old church with much pomp and ceremony and laid under the High Altar. Here also, in the choir, the remains of King Robert the Bruce found a last resting-place. In 1818 they were discovered wrapped in cloth of gold, encased in lead, and lying in a stone coffin. A monumental brass now covers the spot in the modern building, which serves as parish church, occupying the site of the twelfth century choir. The Abbey acquired immense wealth and power. It possessed the greater part of Fife and also had lands in other counties. The mitred Abbot as a baron of regality enjoyed complete civil and criminal jurisdiction, with the grim power of "pit and gallows," over his vassals.

The first important offshoot of the Benedictines was the Abbey of Cluny in Burgundy. It adopted a stricter rule as regards fasting and silence, but its most noticeable feature was the splendour of its ceremonial and ritual. The Cluniacs were brought to Scotland from Wenlock by Walter, the first Lord High Steward, "the Shropshire colonist, progenitor of a race of kings," as he has been described, in 1169. They settled at Paisley, where there was an ancient church—dedicated to S. Mirin, a contemporary of S. Columba. Paisley Abbey possessed immense wealth, but its career was chequered. The War of Independence surged around it, drawn thither by the proximity of the home of Wallace at Elderslie, and it is said to have been burnt by English troops in 1307. In the next century the Abbey was restored in a manner worthy of Cluny. The Abbot went to Rome seeking suitable furnishings and returned with adornments of a sumptuous character, including jewels, silver, cloth of gold, "the stateliest tabernacle in all Scotland," and "ane lectern of brass." The great central tower, often a source of danger in Scottish churches, fell with a crash shortly before the Reformation, but the noble nave escaped and has served to this day as the parish church. At long last the work of restoration is being undertaken, and in due time it is hoped the Abbey Church will reappear with much of its former glory.

The Cistercians of Citeaux, or Bernardines as they are sometimes called, formed another important branch of the Benedictines. They were called "White Monks," but should be distinguished from the Carmelites who were "White Friars." Inspired, if not founded, by S. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose immortal hymn, "Jesus, the very thought of Thee," etc., is heard in all the churches, the Cistercians were for a time drastic reformers in their way. They carried a stern simplicity into the services of the church. No pictures, stained glass, or images were allowed, and all materials employed were of the plainest character. The asceticism of the Cistercians was a protest against the sumptuous ritual of the Cluniacs. How far these characteristics extended to Scotland may be open to question. The ruins of Melrose Abbey, their first home in Scotland, do not suggest austerity, and as a matter of fact the Cistercians received a large share of the wealth which was lavished upon all monasteries alike. Other important establishments of this order were Newbattle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, Deer, Culross, and Sweetheart Abbeys.

Another order of reformed Benedictines came from Tiron, near Chartres in France, and founded the Abbey of Kelso from whence they were called to establish a monastery at Arbroath. This latter was founded and liberally endowed by King William the Lion and dedicated in memory of S. Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The dedication is a curious one which it is difficult to understand, for the King was as strenuous an upholder of the rights of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters as Becket was of the rights of the Church—the assertion of which led to his assassination. Arbroath, or Aberbrothock Abbey as it was then called, became so wealthy that it was generally held *in commendam* by some powerful ecclesiastic or layman. Other establishments of this order were Iona, Kilwinning and Lindores Abbeys.

Much on a par with the Benedictines were the Augustinians or, as they were more properly called, the Canons Regular of S. Augustine. The Canons Regular were founded at Avignon in 1061, and came to Scotland in considerable numbers early in the following century.

Three of their establishments were of outstanding importance, closely bound up with the Court and therefore with Scottish history. The Abbey of Scone was reconstituted by Alexander I. in 1114, who introduced a staff of monks from Nastley Abbey in Yorkshire. Scone had long ere this been an important ecclesiastical centre and the seat of a Celtic monastery. Thither King Kenneth MacAlpine brought the Stone of Destiny from Dunstaffnage; and at the Mòd-Hill his grandson King Constantine II. held in 906 the first national council to be recorded in history, when in the presence of Kellach, Bishop of Alban, he took an oath to protect the discipline and rights of the churches. Possessed of the Stone of Destiny, Scone became the coronation place of the Scottish kings. The stone was removed to London during the invasion of Edward I. in 1296. The Abbey was burnt and totally destroyed in 1559 in spite of the personal efforts of Knox to save it.

Holyrood Abbey also belonged to the Augustinians. It was founded by David I. in 1128 in fulfilment of a vow. While hunting one day in the neighbourhood, according to the picturesque legend, the King was attacked by an enraged stag, but was saved in a miraculous manner by a cross which appeared between the antlers of the animal. After the manner of the time, the King vowed to establish a monastery on the spot of his deliverance, which in due time he fulfilled, dedicating it in honour of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin and All Saints. Holyrood Abbey owes its name to the possession of a famous cross, popularly known as the Black Rood of Scotland, which belonged to Queen Margaret and which she held in her hands as she lay dying in Edinburgh Castle. All that remains of the once vast Abbey Church is the ruined nave. In 1758 it underwent ill-judged alterations, when a heavy roof was erected on walls enfeebled by age. Ten years later the new roof fell with a crash, completely wrecking all that remained of the once vast Abbey of Holyrood.

The Priory of St. Andrews, where they absorbed and succeeded the ancient Culdee monks, was another important establishment of the Augustinians. The buildings which adjoined the cathedral were very extensive, but have completely disappeared. The Priory occupied an area of about twenty acres, and was enclosed by a massive wall which still remains almost in its entirety. The Augustinians also possessed a number of other establishments, including Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Inchcolm Abbeys.

The Carthusians, originally founded by S. Bruno at the Grande Chartreuse in Grenoble, were an order of ascetics bound to silence and solitude. They had an establishment or charterhouse at Perth, which, however, was famed for its magnificence. The Premonstratensians, founded by S. Norbert, came from Prémontré near Laon. They had a number of establishments, among the more important of which were Whithorn, Dryburgh, Soulseat, and Fearn.

Of the military orders arising out of the Crusades, the Knights Hospitallers or Knights of S. John of Jerusalem and Malta, and the Knights Templars, had each a number of preceptories. The principal seat of the Templars was at Arniston, in what is now the parish of Temple. On the suppression of the order in 1312 much of their property passed into the possession of the Hospitallers, whose headquarters were at Torphichen.

The last of the Roman monastic orders to be established in Scotland were the mendicant orders of preaching friars. They made a brave but futile attempt to overcome the tendency to degeneration that invariably showed itself in every order as soon as the pious founder passed away. Every new order as it arose was an attempted reformation before the Reformation, but all alike ended in failure. The monks had secluded themselves behind cloistered walls: to seek the people in the highways and byways of life, to preach the gospel to them, and to commend it by a life of self-denial was the noble aim of the friars. S. Francis of Assisi founded early in the thirteenth century the Friars Minor or Greyfriars—so called from their brown habit. They are remembered at Dumfries, Stirling, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh. There were also three convents of the Nuns of S. Clare or Minoresses of S. Francis commonly called Poor Clares, one of which was at Aberdour. While S. Francis was founding his order in Italy, S. Dominic was accomplishing a similar work in Spain. The Dominicans or Black Friars—so called from their black habit—had some eighteen establishments, the most notable of which was Blackfriars at Perth—a royal residence and the scene of the tragic murder of James I. The Black Friars sought to influence the classes, while the Grey Friars devoted themselves more especially to the masses. The White Friars were another body, originating with the Crusades, who came from Palestine and claimed to be the successors of the prophet Elijah. The Carmelites, as they were more properly called, wore a white habit, and had twelve establishments, of which S. Mary's Church at Queensferry almost alone remains.

Admirable as the monastic system was as a pioneer of

Christian civilisation, it was too self-centred and sporadic in its efforts to minister to the religious requirements of the country as a whole. A national organisation was needed, and this was supplied by the creation of an endowed territorial system of parochial and diocesan areas, a work which was accomplished almost entirely during the twelfth century. On the eve of the Reformation, Scotland was divided into 940 or more parishes including 38 collegiate churches, and 13 dioceses of which two were archbishoprics. It has been estimated that the clergy numbered about 1200. The position was briefly as follows :

I. ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST. ANDREWS.

1. *Diocese of St. Andrews.* The first bishop of this see was Kellach, who brought the primacy with him from Abernethy prior to 908. He was styled Bishop of Alban, a title borne by his successors till the death of Fothard in 1093, who was the last of the Celts. Turgot, appointed in 1107, was the first to be styled Bishop of St. Andrews. The diocese included the most of Fife, parts of Forfarshire, and the Lothians as far as the Tweed. It comprised 253 parishes,[5] divided into the archdeaconries of St. Andrews and Lothian—the former including the deaneries of Fife, Fothrie, Gowrie, Angus, and Mearns, and the latter—Linlithgow, Lothian, and the Merse. St. Andrews was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric in 1472 during the reign

---

[5] The number of parishes given under the different dioceses on this and the following pages are taken from Dr. James Rankin's section of *The Church of Scotland—Past and Present.* The total amounts to 1074 parishes compared with 940 given by Mr. Nenion Elliott in the same work. The discrepancy is not explained.

of James III. Of the Celtic cathedral the foundations and some fragments of the walls may still be seen on the Kirk-hill overlooking the harbour. The church of S. Regulus, erected 1127-1144, served as cathedral until the " Great Church," founded in 1160, was erected. It was not completed till 1318, when it was consecrated with great pomp in presence of King Robert the Bruce. At the Reformation, the Provost and magistrates removed all monuments of " idolatry," and the revenues of the see having been alienated, the means were lacking to keep the great building in repair. The stress of weather brought about disaster, and the ruined masonry was used by local builders as a convenient quarry for material.

2. *Diocese of Dunkeld.* The name is derived from Dunum Keledeorum—the hill of the Culdees. A monastery was established at Dunkeld during the reign of Constantine, 807-816, and the relics of S. Columba were brought thither in 851. The Abbot was head of the Pictish Church. The bishopric was reconstituted by Alexander I. probably in the year 1127, when Cormac the Culdee Abbot was consecrated bishop. The appointment indicates how the Roman hierarchy was grafted on to the Celtic stem of the Scottish Church. Latterly the diocese included 67 parishes, and was divided into 4 deaneries, viz.: (1) Atholl and Drumalbane, *i.e.* Breadalbane; (2) Angus; (3) Fife, Fotherick, and Stratherne; (4) South Forth. The cathedral appears to have been commenced early in the fourteenth century and completed late in the following century. At the Reformation it was " purged of all kinds of monuments of idolatry." The choir has since then been in use as the parish church, and has recently undergone restoration

at the expense of the late Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G., but the nave remains in a neglected roofless condition.

3. *Diocese of Moray.* This diocese first appears in 1124. The see was originally at Birnay, then removed to Kinnedor, Spynie, and finally in 1224 to Elgin, when a commencement was made with the erection of the cathedral. In the year 1390 when it was in the zenith of its splendour a catastrophe occurred. The "Wolf of Badenoch"—otherwise the King's (Robert III.) brother—descended from the hills with a band of ruffians, sacked the city of Elgin and destroyed the cathedral by fire. The work of restoration occupied many years, but the great central tower fell early in the sixteenth century and had to be rebuilt, only to fall again in 1711, wrecking the nave and transepts. The diocese was divided into 4 deaneries, viz.: Elgin, Inverness, Strathspey, and Strabogie; it contained in all 77 parishes.

4. *Diocese of Ross.* At Rosemarkie, which was the first see of this diocese, S. Columba's disciple S. Moluag founded a monastery prior to 577. On the expulsion of the Columban monks from Northern Pictland, Bonifacius, a monk of the Roman party, built a stone church and dedicated it to S. Peter. The bishopric was founded by David I. in 1128. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the building was begun of a new cathedral in the immediate neighbourhood, now known as Fortrose. At the Reformation it suffered much, and James VI. stripped the lead of the choir and aisles to punish the protestant bishop. Finally Cromwell used the walls, and also the bishop's palace and canonry, as a quarry for providing materials to build a fort at Inverness. The chapter consisted of dean,

precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, sub-dean, sub-chanter, and 14 prebendaries. The diocese comprised 37 parishes.

5. *Diocese of Caithness.* This diocese included the counties of Sutherland and Caithness, and its see was at Dornoch in the former county. The original church was dedicated to S. Bar or Fymbar, a legendary saint of uncertain date and probably of Irish extraction. Doubtless it suffered from attacks by Norse invaders. The bishopric was founded or reconstituted prior to 1146. Bishop Gilbert de Moravia or Moray (1222-1245) built the cathedral and dedicated it to S. Mary. It was destroyed by fire in 1570 and afterwards repaired. In 1835-37 it was rebuilt by the then Duchess of Sutherland and now serves as the parish church. The chapter consisted of the usual dignitaries, including 4 canons. The diocese contained 25 parishes.

6. *Diocese of Aberdeen.* The nucleus of this diocese was the ancient monastery founded early in the seventh century by S. Machar, a disciple of S. Columba and the friend of S. Devenic. It was founded by David I. prior to 1150. The Cathedral of S. Machar, begun in 1366, occupies the site of at least two older structures. Building operations were not completed till shortly before the Reformation, a period of nearly two hundred years. It suffered at that time in the usual manner, but the fall of the central tower in 1688 brought the choir and transepts to ruin. The nave, which escaped injury, is now used as the parish church. The chapter consisted of a dean, chanter, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and 13 prebendaries. The diocese was divided into 5 deaneries, viz.: Mar, Buchan, Boyne, Garioch, and Aberdeen, and comprised 94 parishes.

7. *Diocese of Dunblane.* This diocese was constituted by David I. prior to 1150 on the foundation of the ancient Columban monastery, which was an out-station of the church of S. Blane at Kingarth in Bute. The square tower of the cathedral dates from the twelfth century, and the nave and the rest of the church from the following century onward. In modern times the nave was in an unroofed, neglected condition, and the choir, much disfigured, was used as the parish church. In 1893, after complete restoration, admirably executed, largely owing to the munificence of Mrs. Wallace of Glassingall, the cathedral was once more reopened throughout for public worship. The chapter consisted of the usual dignitaries, and the diocese comprised 43 parishes.

8. *Diocese of Brechin.* This diocese arose out of a Culdee church dedicated to the Holy Trinity during the reign of King Kenneth (971-995), and along with Dunblane formed part of, and superseded, the ancient Pictish bishopric of Abernethy. It was reconstituted towards the end of the reign of David I. in 1153. The cathedral was begun about the same time, and its erection was continued at various later periods. After surviving many dangers the choir was reduced, the transepts demolished, and the interior blocked with galleries in 1806, a piece of unpardonable vandalism. In recent years the venerable fabric has undergone careful restoration, and now exhibits much of its former beauty. The round tower of Irish type adjoins the cathedral, and probably dates from the foundation of the Culdee church. The diocese contained 30 parishes.

9. *Diocese of Orkney.* The early evangelisation of the Orkney Islands by the monks of Iona was largely, if

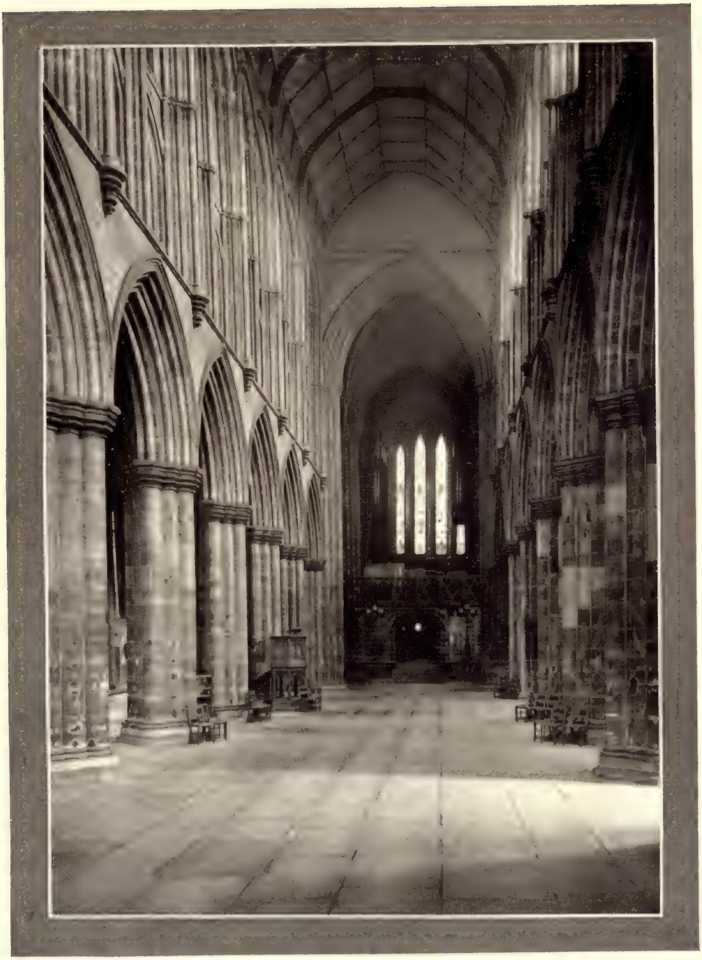
not entirely, overborne by pagan reaction under Norse power and influence. The revival of Christianity began with the consecration of Bishop William the Old in 1102. The cathedral was first at Christ's Church, Birsay, and thence removed to Kirkwall, 1137-52, on the erection of the church of S. Magnus. Magnus was an Earl of Orkney who was treacherously slain at Egilshay, and the cathedral was founded by his nephew Rognvald or Ronald and dedicated in his memory. The building must be regarded as a Norwegian rather than as a Scottish work, but it differs in no respect from the best examples of Norman and Gothic art. It has escaped the ravages of war and ignorant zeal, and withstood the wear and tear of centuries in a remarkable manner. Past neglect is now being remedied, and the ancient building is undergoing careful restoration through the munificent bequest of the late Sheriff Thoms. The diocese was subject first of all to the Archbishop of Hamburg, and afterwards to the Archbishop of Drontheim until 1472, when it was transferred to St. Andrews —the Orkney Islands having come to the crown of Scotland with the Maid of Norway four years previously. It comprised the archdeaconry of Orkney with 35 parishes, and the archdeaconry of Tingwall in Shetland with 17 parishes.

II. Archbishopric of Glasgow.

10. *Diocese of Glasgow.* This diocese was reconstituted about 1116 by David I. before his accession to the throne, upon the ancient foundation of S. Kentigern. The cathedral, previous edifices having been destroyed by fire, was begun in 1181, and the crypt or lower

church, which contains the tomb of S. Kentigern, was consecrated by Bishop Jocelyn in 1197. The choir was erected towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and the nave during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At the Reformation the cathedral was saved from the violence of the mob by the Dean of Guild and craftsmen. It has, however, suffered much from ignorant Restoration Committees, who so recently as 1845-48 cast down the two western towers. The diocese of Glasgow was of great wealth, extent, and power. It possessed the barony of Glasgow and eighteen other baronies, and it has been called not inappropriately a spiritual dukedom. In 1492 it was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric, with Galloway, Argyll, Dunkeld, and Dunblane as suffragans, but St. Andrews afterwards succeeded in recovering the two latter dioceses. The diocese was divided into the archdeaconries of Glasgow and Teviotdale. The former included the deaneries of Nithsdale, Annandale, Kyle and Cunningham, Carrick, Lennox, Rutherglen, Lanark or Clydesdale, Peebles or Stobo and Teviotdale. The total number of parishes in the diocese appears to have been 249.

II. *Diocese of Galloway or Candida Casa.* The ancient bishopric of S. Ninian was reconstituted by Fergus, lord of Galloway, in 1143. It was subject to the Archbishop of York till Scotland obtained a metropolitan in the Archbishop of St. Andrews (1472), and in 1492 it was transferred to the archdiocese of Glasgow. The Priory Church of S. Martin at Whithorn served as cathedral. It contained the shrine of S. Ninian, and was much resorted to by pilgrims of all ranks, including kings and queens. The cathedral is in ruins and but



T. & R. Annan.

S. MUNGO'S CATHEDRAL, GLASGOW.

little of it now remains. The diocese contained the deaneries of Desnes, Rinnes, Glenken and Farnes, and comprised 56 parishes.

12. *Diocese of Lismore or Argyll.* In the year 1200 during the reign of William the Lion this diocese was disjoined from those of Dunkeld and of The Isles. The see was originally at Muckairn, but in 1236 was transferred to Lismore, which was the site of a Columban monastery founded by S. Moluag, who died in 577. The choir of the cathedral, dating probably from about the middle of the fourteenth century, is used as the parish church. The diocese was divided into the deaneries of Kintyre, Glassary, Lorne, and Morven, and contained 47 parishes.

13. *Diocese of The Isles.* S. Columba's island home and parish was the last mediaeval bishopric to be created. The line of his succession in Iona expired on Christmas Eve, 986, when the Abbot and fifteen monks were massacred by the Danes. A Culdee establishment followed; and in 1203 the Pope confirmed the settlement of Benedictine monks from Tiron in France by Reginald, Lord of the Isles. The Abbey was subject to the Archbishop of Drontheim till the year 1458. The Western Islands, along with the Isle of Man, were then incorporated with the English Church. The former were called by the Norwegians the "Suderies" or Southern Islands, as contrasted with the Orkney or Northern Islands, and hence has arisen the title of the Bishops of Sodor (*i.e.* Suder) and Man. Towards the end of the century the Abbot of Iona was made Bishop of the diocese of The Isles, which was then transferred from the English to the Scottish Church and made suffragan to Glasgow; and in 1506 the Abbey Church

became the cathedral of the diocese. The diocese of The Isles contained 44 parishes.

During the fifteenth century an interesting development took place in the work of the Church by the creation of Collegiate churches. These are not to be confounded with the collegiate charges of modern days where two ministers are colleagues in charge of one parish. The churches referred to were so called from being staffed by a college or chapter of clergy. The head of the establishment was called the Provost or Praepositus, the others Prebendaries, and there were also a few singing boys and a sacristan. Frequently the clergy were incumbents of neighbouring parishes, but in any case they lived in their own manses and not in community as the monks. Usually a grammar school was maintained in connection with the charge. Collegiate churches formed strong centres for parochial work and provided a more ornate service than was possible in an ordinary chapel or parish church. The main object of their institution was to bring the influences of religion to bear upon the lives and homes of the people in the towns, which at that time were beginning to increase in population and importance. Altogether about forty collegiate churches were founded, of which it may be sufficient to mention as examples, S. Giles', Edinburgh; S. Michael's, Linlithgow; S. Nicholas', Aberdeen; and S. Duthac's, Tain.

Though it cannot be claimed that the Church of Scotland produced anything like a galaxy of distinguished prelates during the four and a half centuries of their existence, there were a number who well deserve to be remembered. Amongst others may be mentioned Waltheof, Abbot of Melrose, a stepbrother of King

David I., whose pre-eminently pious character gained for him the title of saint in the Scottish Calendar. Jocelyn, his successor at Melrose, became Bishop of Glasgow (1175-99), and founded the Cathedral of S. Mungo. Gilbert de Moray, the champion of the Church at Northampton, became Bishop of Caithness (1222-45), and founded the Cathedral of Dornoch. David Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews (1234-53) was a strenuous reformer and zealous prelate who consecrated no fewer than one hundred and forty churches. William Lamberton, Bishop of the same diocese (1298-1328), consecrated the Cathedral. Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow (1272-1316), crowned King Robert the Bruce when under sentence of excommunication. David, Bishop of Moray (1299-1326), founded the Scots College in Paris. James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews (1440-66), was perhaps the wisest and best chancellor Scotland ever had. William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow (1445-54), founded the University. William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen (1484-1514), a great and good man, founded King's College in that city. Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney (1541-58), restored S. Magnus Cathedral and left an endowment upon which the University of Edinburgh was founded. Such names and services as have been recalled are too often forgotten amid the clamant evils which arose and brought the hierarchy to disaster.

CHAPTER IV

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN HIERARCHY

THE fall of the Roman hierarchy and the reformation of the Church together form a pivot upon which Scottish history has turned. As the coming of the Roman clergy, regular and secular, marked the close of the Celtic and the beginning of the mediaeval periods, so their disappearance marked the close of the latter and the beginning of modern times. An event of such outstanding importance, though culminating in a crash, was not the result of a sudden storm sweeping down on the placid life of the nation, neither was it due to any one factor, religious, intellectual, or political. The Reformation was a strangely complex movement in which deep-seated and far-reaching influences, oft-times contradictory, finally coalesced and ushered in a new era.

The first of the adverse influences to affect the life of the Church was the invasion of Edward I. in 1296, with the subsequent War of Independence. For two hundred years, from the days of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, intercourse between the Churches of Scotland and England, with a few brief intervals, had been close and friendly. The cathedrals borrowed their constitutions from English sees and the Sarum ritual was generally adopted. The monasteries were mostly the off-shoots of establishments in England, as they in turn were of the parent foundations in France and Italy. Edward's ruthless invasion put an effectual end to the friendly relations of Scottish and English clerics, and the closure of the Border to a large extent interrupted communications with the rest of Christendom. The Scottish Church was isolated. "That the Church in Scotland," writes Prof. Rait,[1] "degenerated rapidly and persistently, after the War of Independence, is, unfortunately, beyond the possibility of dispute."

In the fourteenth century the papacy fell into the greatest discredit—a state from which it never wholly recovered. It began in a quarrel with Philip the Fair, King of France, who, threatened by the Pope with a sentence of deposition, retaliated by boldly laying hands on the sovereign pontiff and keeping him a prisoner. After this Rome saw no more of the Popes, who remained at Avignon under French influence, for over seventy years (1303-1377). Then Christendom was thrown into a state of perplexity by rival Popes appearing at Rome and Avignon, each claiming to be the one and only Vicar of Christ. Scotland, France, and Spain made the mistake of supporting the wrong claimant. England and Germany, on the other hand, showed more discernment and supported the successful pontiff. Great was the scandal in Scotland when the "true" Pope Eugenius IV. solemnly excommunicated the followers of the anti-Pope—infelicitously named Felix V.

But still more serious in its effect was the infamy of the moral degradation of the papacy, which reached a climax in Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia, 1492-1503). This is not the place to recount the evil deeds of the wicked men then at the head of the Roman Church; but it is not difficult to understand how it was that the Reformers, who firmly believed they were striving for truth and righteousness, came to the conclusion they were fighting against the Synagogue of Satan and against the very anti-Christ himself. As regards the Scottish Church, the connection with Rome had long since ceased to be a source of strength; it now accelerated the internal forces of demoralisation.

---

[1] *History of Scotland*, p. 126.

The sale of indulgences, though not carried on in the cheap-jack style of Germany, was wide-spread. It was a simple process to make arbitrary regulations, dignify them with the name of "canon law," and then grant dispensations from their observance on payment of a sum of money. The laity were affected chiefly through matrimony. Marriage, without a dispensation, was prohibited within the fourth degree of consanguinity and a similar degree of affinity and even of certain purely spiritual relationships. Moreover in "canon law" the degree was computed in respect to the common ancestor—thus first cousins were held to be related in the second degree, second cousins in the third degree, and so on. These restrictions most seriously affected the upper classes of society where the choice of a mate was most limited, but then they were the best able to pay a good price for the luxury of a dispensation. The intricacies of the marriage law led to the most bewildering complications and uncertainty relating to divorce, legitimacy, and inheritance.

The clergy were also made to suffer. Did a youth of illegitimate birth aspire to the priesthood? A stern prohibition faced him which could only be removed by a dispensation. Did a greedy cleric covet a plural living? It was forbidden until he obtained a dispensation. No bishop or abbot could enter upon his living without proceeding to Rome to obtain confirmation by the Pope, and payments had to be made to expedite, as it was politely termed, the issue of the necessary documents. The unfortunate Archbishop Graham paid 3,300 golden florins when translated from Brechin to St. Andrews, and some years later when further payments fell into arrears, he was threatened with the penalty of excommunication if he did not pay up. A tax called the First Fruits or Annates had to be paid to a collector appointed by the Pope, and papal levies of a tenth of all livings were not unknown. So serious were the demands that Parliament passed an Act in 1483 to remedy "the great skaith and damage which the realm sustains" through prelates and clerics taking money out of the country for promotion and pleas at Rome.

Great as the wealth of the Church was, it was unable to satisfy all the demands made upon it. The offerings of the people came to be demanded as dues. "Again and again, in the Scottish ecclesiastical law," writes Bishop Dowden,[2] "we find the strictest injunctions against the clergy making a charge for the administration of any of the sacraments." At certain of the great festivals an offering called the "mass-penny" was expected from every household. On Easter Day the clergy got a special collection which they regarded as a due and enforced at times by withholding the Communion till payment was made. To refuse the Sacrament in such circumstances was made a statutory offence. In dramatic language the priest is described as holding the Host in his hands and saying in the words of Judas, " How much will ye give me and I will deliver Him unto you."

---

[2] *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, p. 179.

But the Easter-Offering was a mild affair compared to the Corpse-Present which the priest demanded whenever death entered a home. It is difficult to conceive a more ill-timed or odious extortion, yet church law solemnly exacted that " the most valuable animal of the deceased shall be paid to the mother-church for a mortuary." If the bereaved family should be so poor as not to possess an animal, the " uppermost " or largest and best cloth was taken. The imposition was brilliantly satirised by Sir David Lindsay in a play performed before King James V. and the Queen at Linlithgow in 1540. The story told is of a worthy man who was brought to poverty. With a mare and three cows he supported his father, mother, wife, and children. First the old father died and the mother so mourned his loss that she died of grief, " and then began my povertie and woe." The grey mare was taken by the laird for his " *hyreild* " or casualty on the death of his vassal and the Vicar took one cow for the father and another for the mother as his corpse-present. The wife grieved so sorely over their misfortunes that she " deit for verie sorrow " ; the Vicar then reappeared on the scene and " cleikit " the third cow, and his Clerk went off with the uppermost cloth. Thus was this poor man and his bairns " brocht into this miserie."

The rapacity of the clergy in view of the immense wealth of the Church seems almost incredible, until it is remembered how wholesale had been the misappropriation of ecclesiastical property. This did not take place solely at the Reformation as is often supposed.

The Crown and some of the nobles then robbed the Church in an inexcusable manner without question; they, however, but followed a bad example, for much had been made away with by unprincipled clerics who ought to have been its guardians. The first step in the process was the alienation of parochial livings by gifting them to monasteries and cathedrals. Out of 940 parishes at the time of the Reformation, the revenues of no fewer than 678 were in possession of the cathedrals, monasteries, and collegiate churches. While the great ecclesiastical establishments increased in wealth, the parochial churches were reduced to poverty. Deprived of his tiends the parish priest was a miserably paid vicar who was largely dependent for his living upon what he could get from his people. The next step in the spoliation of the Church was the appointment of lay abbots, priors, and rectors *in commendam.* Finally plural livings concentrated much of the wealth of the church in the hands of a few greedy and ambitious men who expended it largely on their private concerns. Thus in a similar manner to the parishes, the nominally wealthy monasteries were reduced to poverty and the active ranks of the cathedral clergy were depleted.

Perhaps the most notorious pluralist was William Wishart, who was Chancellor of the Kingdom, Archdeacon of St. Andrews and rector or prebendary of no fewer than twenty-two churches. Even children were appointed to the most important positions in the Church, and this seems to have been a favourite means of providing for illegitimate sons. Alexander Stewart, a natural son of James IV., held the important abbey of Dunfermline and priory of Coldingham. He was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews when about twelve years of age and fell with his father at Flodden when about twenty. James V., when he reached man's estate at twenty-one, had three illegitimate sons to provide for, and this he did with brazen effrontery by asking the Pope for dispensations, so that they might hold till they were of mature years—"any and every number and kind of priesthoods, secular and regular." What is still more amazing is to learn that the Pope granted the request—for a consideration no doubt. James the elder was appointed Abbot of Kelso at the age of five and of Melrose at fourteen; James the younger, afterwards the Regent Moray, Prior of St. Andrews at five; Robert, Abbot of Holyrood at five; and John, Prior of Coldingham at ten. Adam, another illegitimate son, was made Prior of the Charterhouse at Perth. It was vice rather than good and faithful service which was rewarded with the richest prizes of the Church. To such a pass had the Roman system brought *Ecclesia Scoticana.*

It is not necessary to seek farther than the summary given in Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland* of the statutes of the church councils held in the years 1549-52-59 for the consideration of the prevailing evils, to justify the worst charges that have been brought against the personal character of the clergy. No doubt there were good Christian men amongst them, but the vicious system of church government relegated them for the most part to humble and obscure spheres and placed the most unworthy in positions of prominence and power. All the good resolutions of the councils were ineffectual, for the will to reform their own conduct was palpably lacking in the prelates.

The degradation of the clergy was largely the result of the papal prohibition of marriage in direct opposition to the law of nature, and in the face of the clear warning of Holy Scripture—"Some shall fall away from the faith . . . forbidding to marry." The forbidding to marry was observed strictly enough in the letter, but flagrantly disregarded in spirit. "The incontinence of the priesthood stands confessed, deplored, condemned through all the three centuries of Scottish ecclesiastical legislation."[3] Prelates and priests, not of the worst type by any means, lived with women who were their wives in all but name. Clerical chastity, from Cardinal Beaton downwards, was conspicuous by its absence, and it was the first matter to be dealt with by the Church Council. "The decrees of the Council of Basle *contra concubinarios* are to be strictly enforced against all offenders including the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates." A committee of six dignitaries was appointed to admonish the archbishops in all charity should they find cause (and there was ample cause), and to meet for this purpose twice yearly. "Archbishops and bishops are forbidden to collate their sons to benefices in their own churches." "Prelates who marry their daughters to barons or landed gentry are not to endow them from the patrimony of the Church." "Neither prelates, nor other ecclesiastics are to keep their illegitimate children with them in their houses for more than four days every three months and that not publicly." Alas, poor children, what a fate was to be theirs!

The scandal of "deans and other visitors receiving bribes for hushing up public and heinous offences" is to be stopped by administering an oath. "Very many of the parochial clergy have been found not to be properly

[3] *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (Bann. Club), i. p. ccv.

qualified for the cure of souls." "Attention is called to the widely prevalent neglect of the divine mysteries, and the small attendance at mass and sermon on Sundays and holydays even in the most populous parishes." "Irreverence and buffoonery in church during the sermon, and games and secular traffic carried on in the porch and the church-yard are to be rigidly suppressed."

Very candid and significant is the finding of the Council regarding preaching. "Considering how urgently the office of preaching the Word of God has been enjoined by Christ the Chief Shepherd, on the pastors of His flock; . . . and having regard to the fact that neither the prelates nor the inferior clergy of the Kingdom are, as a rule, sufficiently learned properly to instruct the people in the faith or to convert those in error,—the Council decrees that a catechism is to be compiled for the instruction of the clergy as well as of their flocks." The catechism, known as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism,[4] is generally considered to have been the work of Winram, the sub-prior of St. Andrews, who subsequently became one of the leading reformers. Copies were not to be given indiscriminately to laymen. "The clergy are directed every Sunday and holy day before High Mass to read to the people out of the catechism in a clear, distinct, and articulate manner for the space of half-an-hour, vested in surplice and stole, without adding, changing, or omitting anything whatever. They are, moreover, enjoined not to mount the pulpit unprepared, but frequently to rehearse beforehand what they are going to read, so that they may not by stammering or stuttering become a laughing-stock to their hearers."

---

[4] Principal John Lee draws an interesting comparison between the Catechism and the Reformer's Confession, 1560, in his *Lectures*, i. p. 111.

The Papal Nuncio Goudanus, S.J., in a letter to the General of the Society reporting on his mission to Scotland in 1562, attributes the success of the new doctrines in great measure to the abuses in presenting the benefices, together with the ignorance and low morality of the clergy.[5] The confessions and enactments of the Provincial Councils amply justify his assertion. The spiritual life of the Church had been crushed and trampled upon ; it had become debased, materialised, and commercialised.

The growing influence of the printing press was an important factor in bringing about the much-needed reformation. It operated in two directions—negative and positive—pouring forth anti-clerical satires which exposed scandals and undermined the influence of the constituted authorities of the Church, and also ballads embodying simple religious teaching which kept alive and propagated a knowledge of the Faith among the people. The best known collection of these latter—the "Gude and Godlie Ballates," were mostly composed by two of the parish priests of Dundee. Some of the ballads, sung to the tunes of familiar songs, attained immense popularity and contributed largely to the progress of the movement.

The spirit of the Renaissance which swept across the continent in the sixteenth century creating a divine discontent with the false and a thirst for the true, led Scottish students to the wells of religion and philosophy, rather than to those of art and romance. The Universities, founded as bulwarks of Roman theology and ecclesiasticism, set in motion forces which were destined to overthrow their sponsors. Lawrence, Prior of Lindores, one of the original staff of St. Andrews, was "*Inquisitore haercticae pravitatis*," but afterwards St. Leonard's College led in the path of progress, and its influence was such that "to drink of St. Leonard's Well" was commonly said of those who tasted of the fountain of living waters.

---

[5] Bellesheim, iii. 65.

The Universities brought about the fall of the hierarchy in the Church of Scotland by spreading abroad the new learning and creating a new generation of clergy—a virile race of simple faith, sound scholarship, and stern self-denial—of rough manners, perhaps, but high ideals, of indomitable courage and perseverance. It was the younger clergy, and laity also, educated in Scottish Universities who in a time of utter demoralisation kept the Faith and saved the Church from absolute apostacy.

But, after all, these various influences were but secondary causes in bringing about the fall of the hierarchy and the reformation of the Church. The great primary cause was the circulation of the English Bible among the people, even though it came to the Scots in a strange dialect. It proved to be a new revelation—one which appealed to their intelligence and gained their allegiance. The conviction that it was none other than the Word of God pointed out the true path of reform, and led them in the words so often heard to-day —back to Christ.

CHAPTER V

REFORMATION

We have already seen that Scotland was not altogether a very docile or submissive daughter of Rome, and it cannot be supposed that the innovations and changes introduced in the constitution and doctrines of the Church were always acquiesced in without comment or questioning. The Reformation culminated in the sixteenth century, but its origins are to be sought long ere Martin Luther or John Knox lifted up their voices. The masterful, domineering policy of Hildebrand (1073-1085) seems to have resulted in reaction which was marked by the appearance in the following century of various sects throughout the south of Europe, prominent among which were the Albigenses and the " Poor Men of Lyons "—better known as the Waldensians—so called after Waldo their founder. These bodies, though differing from each other in some important respects, had a common basis in their repudiation of Papal claims.

When it was that the growing divergence between the teaching of Rome and the Holy Scriptures first began to attract attention in Scotland it is impossible to say, but more than two hundred years elapsed after the persecution of the Albigenses and Waldensians ere the first martyr in our country perished. After the death of Wyclif, persecution arose in England, and some of his followers crossed the Border and continued their propaganda in Scotland. In 1407 one of them, John Resby by name, was seized and brought before a church council at Perth. He was charged by Lawrence, Abbot of Lindores, with no fewer than forty heresies and condemned. Resby was then handed over to the civil authorities and burnt at the stake along with his books and writings.

The next sufferer came from a widely different quarter. Paul Crawer, a physician of Prague, seems to have come to Scotland on the outbreak of the religious war which ensued as a result of the treacherous murder of John Huss at the Council of Constance. Labouring as a medical missionary, he also was brought before a church court by Lawrence of Lindores, and charged with spreading heresy. His condemnation followed—he perished in the flames at St. Andrews in 1433.

Notwithstanding the cruel deaths of Resby and Crawer, which occurred in the reign of James I., the truth continued to make steady if not rapid progress. Throughout the reigns of James II. and James III., there was a cessation of persecution, and by the end of the century a certain knowledge of Scripture seems to have become widespread in Ayrshire. There the Lollards of Kyle, as these early reformers were called, came under the notice of the newly created Archbishop of Glasgow—Robert Blackader. No fewer than thirty persons, including Reid of Barskimming, Campbell of Cessnock, Campbell of Newmills, Shaw of Polkemmet, Lady Stairs, and Lady Polkillie, were brought before the King—James IV.—in 1496, and charged by the

Archbishop with a formidable list of thirty-four heresies. Reid defended himself and friends with such ability and wit that the proceedings dissolved in laughter, and the King never again gave any countenance to the persecution of his subjects on account of their religious opinions.

The first Scotsman to suffer death at the hands of the hierarchy was the singularly gifted young churchman Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528). He was a grandson of the first Lord Hamilton and of the Duke of Albany—brother of King James III., and both by his rank and intellect was marked out for a distinguished career. At the age of fourteen, in accordance with the evil practice of the times, he was appointed Abbot of Fearn in Ross-shire with the object of providing him with an income to pay for his education. Although thus an Abbot *in commendam* from an early age, it is not certain that he was ever ordained to the priesthood. Hamilton made his way to the University of Paris where he found himself one of a brilliant group of Scotsmen, including George Buchanan, Alexander Alane, and John Major. After taking his degree he proceeded to Louvain for further study, and there he met with Erasmus. Returning to Scotland he went to St. Andrews and entered St. Leonard's College, where he studied music, and composed a Mass in parts for nine voices which he conducted when it was sung in the Cathedral.

But Hamilton had not remained uninfluenced by the reformers, who were ever increasing in strength both on the Continent and at home. Shortly after his return, copies of Tyndale's Bible began to arrive at St. Andrews and other east coast ports, and were eagerly sought after and widely read. The Abbot of Fearn's expositions at length caused the Archbishop (James Beaton, uncle of Cardinal David Beaton) to summon him to appear and answer to the charge of heresy. Apparently the Archbishop did not relish taking proceedings against such a distinguished churchman as Hamilton, who, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, took advantage of an opportunity which presented itself and escaped to the Continent. At the University of Marburg in Hesse he studied and wrote various theses setting forth his doctrines; but his heart was in Scotland, and after a short stay he returned to face the dangers which he well knew awaited him. The Archbishop assumed a friendly attitude and deplored the evils of the Church, but Hamilton was not the man to be silenced by fair words and ere long he was seized and lodged in the castle. The next day he was brought to trial in the Cathedral Church and was at once condemned. He was immediately led forth to the stake which was erected in front of S. Salvator's College, where a scene of the most painful description was enacted. It was on the 28th February, 1528, and a wild storm swept down the street; the wood was damp and refused to burn, and the fire when at last kindled was blown about by the wind. An explosion of gunpowder, placed among the wood to hasten his end, merely wounded him. For six hours Patrick Hamilton—he was only twenty-four years of age—bore with heroic steadfastness the prolonged agony ere death put an end to his sufferings.

The cruel death of this noble youth created an immense sensation throughout the country, and so much sympathy was evoked that it was commonly said, "The reek of Master Patrick Hamilton infected as many as it blew upon." This was notably true of Alexander Alane, one of the canons of the Priory, a friend of Hamilton's, who stood by him during his terrible martyrdom. Alane, or Alesius as his name is often rendered, incurred the displeasure of the ecclesiastical authorities through a sermon he preached shortly afterwards at the opening of a Synod, in the course of which he inveighed against the excesses of the clergy. The Prior, Patrick Hepburn, who seems by all accounts to have been a thorough profligate, felt personally rebuked and cast Alane into a loathsome underground dungeon. Ultimately, through the help of his brother-canons, Alane was enabled to escape, and getting on board a vessel, reached the Continent in safety after an eventful voyage. He never returned to his native land, but his talents won him fame in Germany, where he took part in the Diet of Worms and became the Rector of the University of Leipzig.

Alane followed with interest the progress of events in Scotland, and from a distance was able to grasp the significance of what was taking place better perhaps than if he had been more immediately engaged in the controversies which prevailed. In 1544 he addressed an appeal to the nobles, prelates, and people of Scotland urging the importance of all uniting in the great national work of purifying religion and reforming the corruptions of the Church of God. The appeal contains a clear statement of the principles upon which the reformation of the Church was being wrought, and it is important for a true understanding of the movement that these should be rightly apprehended. Alane's plea may be briefly summarised. His premises are—" Unless the Church of Christ be reformed it must perish from the earth, and those are its worst enemies, not its real friends, who oppose such indispensable reforms." He then proceeds to show how—" . . . facts themselves call with a loud voice that some care should be taken to relieve the labouring (bark of the) Church, to purify her depraved doctrine, and to reform her whole administration." Forgotten truths and facts of history recalled by reformers had been greeted by the blind and ignorant with the familiar outcry against innovations, but Alane was not afraid to proclaim—" Let us have innovation everywhere if only we can get the true for the false, seriousness for levity, and solid realities for empty dreams. . . . It is no new doctrine we bring, but the most ancient, nay rather the eternal truth, for it proclaims that Jesus Christ the Son of God came into the world to save sinners and that we are saved by faith in Him. . . . Those which are really new are the doctrines which have obscured or contaminated it, brought in by those entrusted with the care of the vineyard of the Lord, and who, like the keepers of the vineyard in the Gospel parable, have maltreated and slain many of the Lord's messengers." [1]

But the obstructors of reform were still in place and power in the Church, and were firmly resolved to continue their policy of repression so far as possible. In this they were not altogether unsuccessful, for we read that in 1532 there was a great objuration at Holyrood of " the followers of Martin Luther "—as the reformers were regarded. About the same time, however, a Benedictine monk named Henry Forrest proved himself to be of sterner stuff, and suffered death at the stake in St. Andrews " for none other crime," writes Knox,

---

[1] *The Scottish Reformation*, by Prof. A. F. Mitchell, p. 275.

"but, because he had a New Testament in English." In the following year there was another great trial of heretics in "the Abbey Kirk of Holyroodhouse," when the King arrayed in crimson robes, and the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, were present. Some sixteen persons were convicted and punished by the forfeiture of their goods, and two others were condemned to death. Of the latter, one Norman Gourlay was a priest and the other David Straiton was a layman of good family. They were both hung and burnt beside the rood of Greenside on 27th August, 1534.

The following year Parliament renewed its fulminations against "Lutheran" doctrines and publications, which shows how futile its efforts had been to enforce its previous enactments, and how helpless it was to stem the rising tide of reform. Four years later (1539) there was a renewed outburst of persecution when Dean Thomas Forret, a canon regular of Inchcolm and Vicar of Dollar; Sir Duncan Simson, a priest of Stirling; two Dominicans, Friar John Beverage and Friar John Keillor, and a layman named Forrester, were all cruelly burnt together in one huge fire on the Castle hill at Edinburgh in the presence of James V. At Glasgow in the same year a Franciscan—Friar Jerome Russell—"a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and of good letters," and a lad eighteen years of age named Ninian Kennedy, "of good wits and excelling in Scottish poesie," also suffered death at the stake.

But the time was now hastening on when the persecution of pious men at the hands of profligate ecclesiastics must reach a crisis. The occasion arose with the death of the next victim. This was George Wishart, thought to have been a son or nephew of Sir James Wishart, Laird of Pittarow in the Mearns, who was born about the year of Flodden. He studied at King's College, Aberdeen, where he took his degree, but his theological opinions, which he largely shared with his neighbour, Erskine of Dun, brought him into collision with David Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath, and he had to fly to England, where, though protected by Latimer, he got into further trouble, and had to seek a temporary asylum on the Continent. Returning to England an older and a wiser man of about thirty years of age, he spent a year at Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, "where his charity to the poor and a naturally attractive disposition made him generally esteemed." [2]

For about three years Wishart laboured mostly in Montrose, but also in Dundee, where he preached with so much vigour that the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries were mobbed, a fate which was also shared by the Abbey of Lindores. Expelled from Dundee by the magistrates as a result of these disturbances, he retired to Ayrshire where he lived under the powerful protection of the Earl of Cassillis. A serious outbreak of plague occurring at Dundee, Wishart returned thither and comforted the afflicted people by his presence and counsel. Here on one occasion he stationed himself on the top of the East or Cowgate Port and preached to the plague-stricken outside the city wall on the text, "He sent His word and healed them" (Ps. cvii. 20). When engaged on this work of mercy, a priest, bribed by the Cardinal Archbishop, attempted to assassinate him as he descended from his elevated pulpit. Wishart fortunately was able to seize the man's arm and take the dagger from him. The priest confessed all, and would have been torn in pieces by the infuriated crowd if his intended victim had not protected him.

---

[2] Bellesheim, ii. 172.

Convinced that the rulers of the Kirk were determined to slay him, Wishart fled to East Lothian, where he was protected by the reforming lairds. He preached at Leith and various places in the neighbourhood, but the storm was gathering round him, and the fickle crowd no longer thronged to hear him. His last sermon—it lasted an hour and a half—was given in the Abbey Church of Haddington. At the close of the service a priest and notary, about forty years of age,[3] who held the obscure position of tutor in one of the county families, stepped on to the stage of history. This was Sir John Knox,[4] who tells with evident pride that he had been holding Wishart's two-handed sword. Knox offered to accompany him to Ormiston whither he was returning on foot, but Wishart, foreboding danger, stopped him, saying, "Nay, return to your bairnes and God bless you; ane is sufficient for a sacrifice." At dead of night—it was "a vehement frost"—Ormiston House was surrounded by a party of armed men under the Earl of Bothwell, and Wishart was seized. Bothwell solemnly promised that his life should be spared, but such a promise was more than mortal man could keep while Beaton lived.

Wishart was taken to St. Andrews, where he languished for eight weeks in the gruesome "Bottle Dungeon," and afterwards was tried for heresy amid great pomp and ceremony. The two Archbishops supported by numerous prelates and dignitaries and escorted by an armed force entered the Cathedral in procession. The proceedings opened with a sermon by the Sub-Prior John Winram, who afterwards joined the Reform party, on the singularly inappropriate parable of the wheat and tares. Possibly it was intended to sound a note of caution, but if so it was unheeded, for at the conclusion of the sermon Wishart was sent up into the pulpit to hear his accusation. Then followed a scene in the noble and sacred building which for indecency and horror almost baffles imagination. The prosecutor stepped forward, read the accusation, and looking at Wishart, spat in his face, saying,—

---

[3] For a review of the evidence regarding the date of Knox's birth, see Dr. D. Macmillan's *John Knox, A Biography*, p. 307.

[4] Priests without the University degree of Master of Arts bore the title of Sir or Schir, and were sometimes referred to as the Pope's Knights. Ninian Winzet, his ablest opponent, writes of Knox as—"Sir John."

"What answerest thou to these sayings thou renegade, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witnesses against thee ?"

Wishart's reply was to kneel down in the pulpit and pray. Throughout the whole of this painful scene his bearing and conduct was marked by the most perfect self-control. The accusations, eighteen in number, were then read over one by one, each beginning with the formula—"Thou false Heretyk," to which Wishart gave separate answers. He was charged with false teaching on such subjects as the Sacraments, Holy Water, Free Will, Fasting, Prayer to Saints, Purgatory, and Monastic Vows. These charges he answered with courtesy, moderation, and ability, amid jeers and angry cries of protest ; but the result of the trial was a foregone conclusion, and Wishart was led forth from the great church a condemned man. The stake and gallows were erected in front of the Archbishop's Castle, and here on 1st March, 1546, Wishart was first hung and then burnt, the Cardinal looking on at the scene from his window. Even the executioner was moved to pity by the gentle bearing of his victim, and begged for forgiveness, which Wishart readily granted and sealed it with a kiss, saying, "Now be of good courage, my heart, and do thine office."[5]

The man who personified the evil genius of the Kirk was David Beaton, Lord Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland (1494-1546). He came of the family of Beaton or Bethune of Balfour in Fife, and received his early education at St. Andrews. At the age of seventeen he entered the University of Glasgow, where his uncle James Beaton was the Archbishop. In 1519 his public career began when at the age of twenty-five he was appointed Envoy of Scotland to the Court of Francis I. It was a bad school for a young churchman, and he remained in it for six years. Returning to Scotland he entered Parliament as Abbot of Arbroath, to which position he had been appointed two years previously, and at once his influence was apparent in the Act passed the same year (1525) prohibiting the importation of Lutheran publications and the dissemination of Lutheran doctrines. It is not without significance that a period of active persecution ensued, and that, with only two exceptions, all the executions of Scottish reformers took place during the years of Beaton's sojourn and ascendency.

The total number of martyrs during that period was eighteen. The death of Servetus at the hands of Calvin has left an indelible stain on his memory, and Beaton's record of persecution extending over twenty years has branded his name with infamy, but its severity must not be exaggerated. If he had lived he might have followed the example of "Bloody" Mary across the Border, who burnt 277 persons, including 5 bishops and 55 women; or of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands where the Council of Blood in the short space of three months sent 1800 people to the scaffold for their faith; or of Charles IX., Mary Queen of Scots' brother-in-law, who launched the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when 70,000 persons were butchered to the almost incredible exhibition of joy by the Pope and Cardinals. Judged by such standards the hated Beaton was an easy-going opponent of reform.

---

[5] See Note E, page 246.

The religious question was complicated by the political situation in which Scotland, though a mere pawn in the game, became a factor of European importance. In the great duel between Francis I. and the Emperor Charles V. both sides courted Henry VIII., the value of whose support depended in no small measure on the attitude of Scotland, which could either be a source of strength or of weakness to England. Henry VIII. having replaced the Pope as "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and entered on his career of matrimonial adventure, took steps to obtain the support of his nephew James V. and the ever-growing Reform party in Scotland. On the other hand, Francis I. spared no pains to maintain the old alliance with Scotland. The King of England had some of the reforming lords and lairds in his pay, and the King of France had the Cardinal Primate and Chancellor in his pay, having made him Bishop of Mirepoix, which carried with it an income of ten thousand livres. The die was cast when James V. declined the hand of Henry VIII.'s daughter Mary, and married the daughter of

Francis I.—a decision confirmed when he subsequently married Mary of Guise.

But the untimely death of James V. in 1542 led to a renewal of the crisis, and on this occasion the Reform party having the support of the Regent Arran prevailed. The Cardinal Primate was imprisoned on a charge of treason, and in his absence Parliament agreed to a treaty with Henry VIII. which provided for peace between England and Scotland and the marriage of his son Edward (VI.), then aged five years, with the infant Queen. At the same time it passed an Act making it lawful "for all our sovereign lady's lieges to have the Holy Writ, to wit, the New Testament and Old in the vulgar tongue . . . and that they shall incur no crime for having and reading the same." Though thus permitted to possess and to read the Bible, they were, however, forbidden to dispute, argue, or even to hold any opinions about it.

The triumph of the Reform party was short lived, for the Regent proved to be a mere reed shaken by the wind. The imprisonment of Beaton was followed by an interdict, and the services of the church were suspended throughout his extensive diocese. The Regent lost nerve and surrendered to his prisoner, with whom he went to the Greyfriars' Church at Stirling, and there did humble penance for his sins. The reconciliation of Church and State soon revealed itself in a change of policy. Parliament annulled the treaty with England, and also passed an Act enjoining all Prelates to make inquisition for all persons disseminating reformed doctrines, and to take action against them according to the laws of Holy Kirk.

Soon after this the Regent and the Primate made a pitiful exercise of their power at Perth when five men and a woman, who all seem to have been obscure persons of no special importance, were condemned to death. Robert Lamb was accused of interrupting the sermon of a friar who was advocating the invocation of saints; William Anderson, James Ronald, James Hunter and James Finlayson had maltreated an image of S. Francis and had eaten a goose on All-Hallow's Eve; Helen Stark, Finlayson's wife, was charged with refusing in her hour of labour to call upon the Virgin. The men were hanged, and the poor woman, whose request to be allowed to die with her husband was refused, after handing her babe to an onlooker, was bound hand and foot and drowned.

The rejection of Henry's advances led to a renewal of the old wars, and yet another devastating invasion took place. In 1544 an English fleet with troops under the command of the Earl of Hertford appeared off Leith, and siege was laid to Edinburgh. The castle withstood all assaults, but Holyrood Palace and the city were given over to the flames for three days. Beaton was popularly blamed for causing the misery, and the cry was heard in the streets, "Wo worth the Cardinal"! The next year another army also under Hertford crossed the Border, ravaging the country and destroying everything that lay in its path with fire and sword. To this day the pathetic ruins of Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh Abbeys cry aloud and testify against the ruthless desecration and destruction wrought by Henry VIII.'s troops on that occasion. Two years later the great Abbey Church of Holyrood was laid in ruins by the English army after the Battle of Pinkie; and now the Chapel Royal of Scotland, like the Coronation Cathedral of her ancient ally at Rheims, stands a silent but eloquent witness to the ruthless barbarity of foreign invaders.

It was Beaton of all others who was responsible for spurning his friendship and thwarting his policy, and Henry determined to bring his career to an end. Accordingly negotiations were entered upon between his ambassador, Sadler, and Beaton's opponents, the Earl of Cassillis and Chrichton of Brunstane, for the Cardinal's assassination. Political assassination at that period was not abhorred as a crime even in high places, for Pope Gregory XIII. declared that whosoever should send Queen Elizabeth "out of the world with the pious intention of doing God service, not only does not sin but gains merit."[6]

The martyrdom of Wishart, following upon the disastrous invasion, united religious and political influences and brought matters to a crisis. Early on the morning of the 29th May, 1546, the Master of Rothes, Kirkcaldy of Grange, Melville of Carnbee, and a number of armed retainers gained access to the Castle of St. Andrews, and forced their way into the Cardinal's chamber. "I am a priest," shrieked the wretched man in vain, as his assailants closed in upon him and smote him with the sword, "Fy, fy, all is gone!" So perished miserably, at the age of fifty-two, the one and only genuine cardinal the Church of Scotland has produced.[7] On hearing the tumult, a crowd soon gathered and learned of the tragedy when Beaton's dead body was ignominiously hung over the window. The verdict of the country on his death was well expressed in the oft-quoted lines :

---

[6] *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth,* by A. O. Meyer, p. 271.

[7] Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, was created a cardinal by the anti-Pope Clement VII. in 1385.

"As for the Cardinal, I grant
He was a man we weel could want,
And we'll forget him soon ;
And yet I think that, sooth to say,
Although the loon is weel away,
The deed was foully done !"

Persecution, however, did not die with the Cardinal, and Knox found that he was a marked man. At the entreaty of the lairds of Longniddry and Ormiston he fled about a year later, with his pupils, to the Castle of St. Andrews, which was held by Kirkcaldy of Grange and others of the English party against the Regent, the new Archbishop (Hamilton) and the French party.

The garrison had as its chaplain John Rough, once a monk in Stirling and priest to the Regent Arran, who had since joined the Reformers. In after years (1557) he was martyred at Smithfield under "Bloody" Mary. He was a good man, but not very well able to hold his own against the attacks of the Roman party, and Knox had to help him in preparing his sermons and in dealing with opponents who delighted in interrupting him while preaching. Rough besought him to take his place, but Knox at first refused to preach, saying "he would not run where God had not called him." The Castle party, however, resolved that he should be their minister, and one day at the close of a sermon on the election of ministers, Rough turned to Knox and said solemnly : "In the name of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of those that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation . . . and that you take upon you the public office and charge of preaching. . . ." Completely overcome with emotion, Knox burst into tears and retired to his room. Though he had been ordained a presbyter for some years, he had not realised, any more than most other priests at that time, that the ministry of the Word was as essential a feature of his office as the ministry of the Sacraments. The call now came with irresistible force, and afterwards he preached frequently in the Parish Church. It was during his visit to St. Andrews that Knox celebrated the Lord's Supper in the reformed manner for the first time.

Knox made a well-nigh fatal mistake in joining the men whose hands were stained with the Cardinal's blood, and he soon paid dearly for his folly. Within less than three months of his coming to St. Andrews, a fleet of twenty-one French galleys appeared in the bay and he found himself besieged in the castle. Summoned to surrender, the garrison sent a spirited reply,—" They knew them no magistrates in Scotland." The fleet then opened fire ; but it was not until a month later when a landing party mounted guns on the cathedral and S. Salvator's College tower that the castle surrendered, the battered walls being incapable of further defence. The garrison was taken on board and transported to France, where Knox was kept as a galley slave and compelled to labour at the oars.

But the spirit of the Scots remained undaunted though threatened with punishment if they would not give reverence to the Mass. When the " Salve Regina " was sung they all put on their caps and hoods, and when others were compelled to kiss a painted " brodde " which they called " Notre Dame," Knox says significantly they were not pressed after once. It happened in this way. After their arrival at Nantes, where they spent the winter, a great "Salve" was sung and "a glorious painted Lady" was brought in to be kissed and was presented to one of the Scots—Knox himself most probably—then chained. He gently (*sic*) said, "Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed; and therefore I will not touch it." The officers answered, "Thou shall handle it," and thrust it upon him, whereupon, taking advantage of the opportunity, he cast it into the river, saying, "Let our Lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim." "After that," Knox adds with grim humour, "was no Scottis Man urgit with that Idolatrie." For nineteen weary months Knox lived in a state of slavery until he was released through the good offices of Edward VI.

Early in 1549 Knox went to Berwick-on-Tweed, where, under the protection of the young King, he continued his ministry and kept in touch with his friends across the Border. In England he rose to eminence, but whether he was a chaplain to the King or not is somewhat uncertain. There is, however, no doubt that on occasions he preached before Edward VI. and was consulted by Archbishop Cranmer about the revision of the Prayer Book. Knox refused several offers of advancement in the Church of England, notably the bishopric of Rochester and the vicarage of All Hallows in London, whereat the Council was sufficiently annoyed to summons him to appear before them and explain his position. In reply he indicated that his real work lay in Scotland; that the discipline of the Church of England was defective; and that kneeling at the Lord's Table was not the proper attitude.

The accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 brought about a complete change in the situation. In the course of a few months reaction set in, toleration of reformed doctrines and worship ceased, and Roman domination reasserted itself in England. Many of the Reformers had to seek safety from persecution on the Continent, and thither early the following year went John Knox. For the best part of the next five years he laboured partly in Dieppe and Frankfort but chiefly in Geneva, where he enjoyed the friendship of John Calvin. His stay on the Continent was broken by a visit to Scotland, when he ministered to many of the most influential men of the day. After a while the bishops became concerned at these doings and summoned Knox to appear before them in the Black Friars Church at Edinburgh, but for some unknown reason proceedings were dropped and no further action was taken till he had returned to Geneva, whither he went at the urgent call of his congregation. Then the bishops resumed proceedings, and in his absence Knox was condemned and solemnly burnt in effigy.

After Beaton's death there were but two cases of martyrdom in Scotland. The first of these was Adam Wallace, tutor to the Laird of Ormiston's boys in succession to Knox. He does not appear to have been in orders, but was accused of preaching reformed doctrine. He was condemned in Black Friars Church and executed at the stake on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, in 1550. The last case was that of an aged priest named Walter Mill, who had been condemned in Beaton's time, but had managed to escape, and for twelve years had evaded his persecutors. When over eighty years of age, in 1558, he was detected by a spy and brought before the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and though so feeble in body that he could scarcely stand, he made a spirited defence. His condemnation followed, but no civil judge could be found to execute the sentence of death on the venerable priest. The Archbishop, was not, however, to be baulked of his prey, and one of his servants acted as executioner. As Mill was being raised up on the pile of faggots, it must have sounded strange to hear the old reformer reciting the familiar opening words of the Mass —now invested with a new meaning—"*Introibo ad altare Dei.*" "I am fourscore and two years old," he said to the sympathising onlookers at this painful scene, "and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, and I trust in God that I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." His prayer was granted;—Walter Mill was the last martyr at the hands of the Roman hierarchy.

It must not be thought that the ecclesiastical authorities sought to oppose the Reformers with persecution and martyrdom only. The evils from which the Church was suffering were so clamant that the necessity of some measure of reform could not be denied. The Reformers contended that the evils arose from the unscriptural doctrine and organisation of the Church, while the Roman party held that the administration alone was at fault. Various noteworthy, if futile, efforts to remedy the abuses that were bringing discredit upon the Church were made by Archbishop John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, and half-brother of the Regent Earl of Arran, who succeeded Cardinal Beaton in the Primacy. In 1549 a Provincial National Council met in Black Friars Church in Edinburgh at which some sixty prelates and dignitaries were present, including at least two who afterwards became prominent reformers, viz. the Prior of St. Andrews, then a youth of eighteen years of age, better known afterwards as the Regent Earl of Moray; and the Sub-prior Winram, afterwards a superintendent in the new administration. The Council enacted a series of forty-three statutes which as far as they went were admirable. The only drawback was that the clerical offenders from the highest to the lowest refused to reform their own conduct, and so the statutes remained a dead letter. Three years later (1552) the statutes with some additions were re-enacted with no better result. Once again and for the last time the Primate convened a Provincial Council, which met at Edinburgh in 1559, but the tide was now ebbing fast. The attendance was so unsatisfactory that a second and urgent summons had to be issued to secure the desired numbers. Once more many excellent resolutions were adopted, and the Council adjourned to meet again in 1560, but ere that day arrived the great crisis was reached and the Roman hierarchy lost the control of the Church of Scotland which it had exercised for some four hundred and fifty years.

Other efforts for reform were made by means of tracts. One of these, known as the Twopenny Faith, probably from its price, attained some celebrity; another and more elaborate was written by the last Abbot of Crossraguel; but the most active and probably the most able champion of the Roman party in the Church was Ninian Winzet or Wingate, who was a priest-schoolmaster at Linlithgow. Wingate published numerous tracts in which he condemned with bitter satire and stern denunciation the scandalous lives of the higher clergy and the misuse of church patronage by the nobles.

The reform movement received a marked impetus at this time from refugees from England, who in considerable numbers fled to Scotland from the persecutions of "Bloody" Mary. Amongst others were two friars—John Douglas, who became chaplain to the Earl of Argyll, and John Willock, originally a monk in Ayr, but who had been employed in England as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. During his visit to Scotland in 1555 Knox had an important conference with Willock, Maitland of Lethington, Erskine of Dun and others, when the first great step towards the reformation of the Church was taken. After careful deliberations both clerics and laymen resolved that it was not merely inexpedient but positively "unlawful" to attend Mass. Up to this point many of the Reformers, following the fashion of the day and for the avoidance of slander, it was explained, had continued to attend Mass. It had now become evident that the supremacy of the Pope and the supremacy of the Holy Scriptures were irreconcilable. In such circumstances compromise was impossible, for to attend Mass was to countenance error and to support the forces of corruption, or, as it was expressed in the lurid language of the day—"to commit idolatry and have fellowship with the Congregation of Satan."

The second step was taken two years later when the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Mortoun, Lord Lorne, Erskine of Dun and others entered into a formal band or confederation known as the First Covenant. In this document, dated 3rd December, 1557, the reformers state: "We do promise before the Majesty of God, and His Congregation, That we, by His Grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God, and His Congregation ; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful Ministers, purely and truely to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which Holy Word, and Congregation, we do join us : and also do renounce and forsake the Congregation of Satan, with the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation by our subscription at their presence."

The bond thus formally drafted was no mere resolution or record of pious aspirations to be laid aside and forgotten as soon as it was signed ; on the contrary it so united the signatories that they at once assumed executive powers. Two important resolutions were adopted as follows :

> I. " It is thought expedient, devised, and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm the common prayers be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the Parish Kirks with the Lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayers. And if the curates of the Parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same, and if they be not or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same."
>
> II. " It is thought necessary, that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used

> privily in quiet houses, without great conventions of people thereto, while afterwards that God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers."

These resolutions have the appearance of usurped authority and sedition, but it must be remembered that the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Mortoun were territorial magnates possessing extensive powers in their courts of regality, great personal influence, and considerable church patronage. Further, the Church of Scotland was not divided into two clearly defined parties of the extreme types of Beaton and Knox. The great majority of the clergy and people were of a much more moderate type, and there is nothing more remarkable in the whole history of the movement than the manner in which the reforming clergy, and notably Wishart and Knox, were permitted to preach in the parish churches. The resolutions contain no order against the Mass, which is most noteworthy considering the strong feelings they entertained towards it. All that was "ordained," and it was much, was that so far as their power extended, the Book of Common Prayers (the second book of Edward VI., dated 1552) should be used in churches; and where such a course would probably lead to a disturbance, that Bible study should take place quietly in private houses.

The death of Mary Tudor on 17th November, 1558, and the accession of Elizabeth brought about another complete change in the religious situation in England. Persecution came to an end and toleration was at once assured. In these circumstances the refugees on the Continent returned home, the congregations dispersed, and Knox left Geneva, arriving at Leith on 2nd May following. On his arrival he found that the movement for the reformation of the Church had made further substantial progress during his absence. The leaders now included some of the most powerful of the nobles with a number of influential lairds. The success of the movement in a purely religious sense had brought the Church question into the sphere of politics. The Reformation was fundamentally a religious movement, but its embodiment in the law of the land was a political measure ; the former established the supremacy of the Holy Scriptures in the region of dogma, and the latter freed the Church from a long-standing but usurped foreign control in the region of Church government.

To understand the situation at the time of Knox's return we must retrace our steps and recall the deplorable condition into which the country had been brought by the invasion of the English army. After the disastrous defeat at Pinkie (1547), it became evident that the only hope of deliverance lay in an appeal to France. This step was accordingly taken by the Queen Mother, Mary of Guise, and met with a ready response. Early the following summer a French fleet carrying troops arrived at Leith, and thus reinforced the Scots were able to gain some successes and to recover lost ground. Eventually peace was made with England in 1550, and the invaders withdrew. The French troops, however, remained in the country, and they proved to be quite as lawless and oppressive as open enemies. The Queen Mother advanced Frenchmen into high office, the Cardinal of Lorraine was appointed Abbot of Melrose and Kelso, the soldiers brought their wives and families and settled down, and when the Queen married the Dauphin (24th April, 1555), it looked as if Scotland, having once more escaped from England, were to forfeit her independence to France. Prompted by her brother the Cardinal, the Queen Mother at length determined to enforce the law against heretics, hitherto very much of a dead letter, and accordingly summoned "the preachers" to appear at Stirling on the 10th May, 1559. It was at this critical moment that John Knox arrived at Edinburgh (2nd May).

The supreme need of the Reformers at this time was—a man, and with the hour came the man. John Knox was a man with a policy, and strength of character to pursue it through good report and ill report to the end. "We seek," he wrote,[8] "nothing but Christ Jesus his glorious evangel to be preached, his holy sacraments to be truly ministered, superstition, tyranny, and idolatry, to be suppressed in this realm; and finally, the liberty of this our native country to remain free from the bondage and tyranny of strangers." Such a policy, uniting the forces of religion and patriotism, appealed to all that was best in Scotland. Others had died for it; Knox lived for it, fought for it, and brought it to a triumphant issue.

After spending only two nights in Edinburgh—for he was still an outlaw, Knox hastened to Dundee. There he found a large body of preachers and their supporters, whom he joined, and they all proceeded in a body as far as Perth, where Erskine of Dun left them and went on alone to Stirling. Erskine was received by the Queen Regent and obtained, or thought he obtained, a promise that if the Reformers at Perth would disperse peacefully the proceedings against them would be dropped. To their dismay, however, the "preachers" found that as they did not appear sentence of outlawry was pronounced. Meanwhile Knox had not been idle, and in the course of a sermon delivered in St. John's Church he denounced " Idolatry " [9] with perhaps rather more than his usual vehemence. When he had finished a priest imprudently began to open up a " glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar " and prepared to celebrate Mass, whereupon a boy who had been standing by raised an outcry of " Idolatry." The priest turned and struck the boy, who retaliated by throwing a stone which missed the priest but hit the tabernacle and brought down an image. This was the signal for a general onslaught on all the " monuments of idolatry " in the church. The news of the commotion spread rapidly throughout the city, a great crowd collected—not the " earnest professors " but only " the rascal multitude "—Knox is careful to explain, and made for the monasteries. Blackfriars had been the resort of royalty ; Charterhouse was a " building of wondrous cost and greatness " ; and Greyfriars was " a plaice weel providit." The mob sacked and plundered to their hearts' content till, in a couple of days, only the bare walls remained.

---

[8] *Historie*, Preface, Lib. II.

These events brought about a state of affairs which developed, somewhat reluctantly on both sides, into a state of civil war. On the one hand was Mary of Guise, Dowager-Queen-Regent, supported by French troops and the Roman prelates ; and on the other hand was the Congregation, under which name the Reformers were now known,—supported and encouraged by Protestant England. The opposing forces were at first evenly matched, the Congregation being reinforced by the adhesion of Lord James Stewart, afterwards Regent, and the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, and neither side was anxious for bloodshed.

---

[9] See Note F, page 246.

The Queen Regent's forces advanced from Stirling to Perth, and the Congregation dispersed to reassemble at St. Andrews. On his arrival there Knox at once announced his intention to preach in the Cathedral, whereupon the Archbishop warned him that if he attempted to do so the guard would fire on him. But Knox was not to be intimidated by his enemies or dissuaded by his friends. "To delay to preach tomorrow," he said, "I cannot of conscience; for in this town and kirk began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher, from the which I was reft by the tyranny of France, by procurement of the bishops, as ye all well enough know; how long I continued prisoner, what torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the sobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I cannot conceal . . . that my assured hope was, in open audience, to preach in St. Andrews before I departed this life." Knox's courage and confidence were rewarded. He preached without hindrance on the cleansing of the Temple, and so applied the lesson that the provost and magistrates at once proceeded "to remove all monuments of idolatry." The altars were cast down and the images and other paraphernalia were piled up and burnt on the very spot where little more than a year before Archbishop Hamilton had burnt Walter Mill.[10]

The Congregation continued to increase in numbers and strength, and the Queen Regent and her forces were compelled to retire to Stirling, then to Edinburgh, and

---

[10] See Note G, page 246.

HOLY TRINITY PARISH CHURCH, ST. ANDREWS.

finally to Dunbar. Meanwhile the Congregation returned to Perth, which surrendered at discretion. The Abbey of Scone, two miles distant, was held by the soldiers of the Bishop of Moray, who had an evil reputation and had incurred the wrath of the Congregation through his having the previous year persecuted the aged priest Walter Mill. So keen was the feeling against this unholy prelate that neither Knox nor the Provost of Dundee was able to restrain the crowd, and the Bishop's Place and the Abbey were sacked and utterly destroyed by fire. "The Reformation is somewhat violent," wrote Knox apologetically the following day, "because the adversaries be stubborn."

The Congregation advanced to Stirling and proceeded by Linlithgow to Edinburgh, where they arrived in triumph on 29th June. There they found that the Greyfriars and Blackfriars monasteries had been sacked, leaving only the bare walls standing, and that the altars and images in S. Giles' had been destroyed and burnt. Writing on the following day, Kirkcaldy of Grange stated: "The manner of their proceeding in reformation is this; they pull down all manner of friaries and some abbeys which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them; in place thereof the book set forth by the godly King Edward is read in the same churches."

The Reformers no doubt showed a deplorable disregard for the artistic treasures of the churches and monasteries, but it is only fair to remember that it was then impossible to regard objects which were associated with superstition simply from the artistic point of view.

When the movement for reform took place there were signs of a wider intellectual awakening among its leaders. Patrick Hamilton was a musician; George Wishart was a painter; George Buchanan was a Latinist of European fame; but the problem of overwhelming importance was that concerning the faith and being of the Church, and all else was laid aside.

Throughout the stormy period of the reformation of the Church it was the monasteries that suffered most, They had long outlived their usefulness. So adverse was public opinion that the "rascal multitude" were permitted to sack and burn many of them without interference. Others, however, including Dunfermline, Pluscarden, Kelso, Paisley, Crossraguel, Melrose, Balmerino, Newbattle, and Sweetheart Abbeys were in some sort of habitable condition during the lifetime of such of the monks as accepted the reformed faith and were in receipt of modest pensions.[1] On the whole it is probable that the sacking and destruction of monasteries did not take place so generally throughout the country as the well-known instances would lead us to suppose.

Though the altars and images in the churches were deliberately cast down and burnt by the Reformers, it must not be supposed that they destroyed the cathedrals or churches whose ruins, however picturesque, never fail to arouse vain regrets. It is sometimes forgotten how southern invaders devastated Holyrood, Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Jedburgh and other abbeys and churches in the Border region. There is ample evidence that many of the churches elsewhere were in a dilapidated condition long before the Reformation. Dr.

---

[1] *Scottish Monasteries of Old,* by M. Barrett, O.S.B., pp. 203-8.

Hay Fleming[2] who has investigated the subject very carefully, says that much less damage was done at that time than is generally supposed, and proves that almost all of the cathedrals were used for worship after the Reformation. The Reformers adopted measures for the repair of churches, "lest the Word of God, and ministration of the sacraments by unseemliness of the place, come in contempt."[3] Funds were, however, difficult to obtain, and the discomfort and inconvenience of many of the old churches led sooner or later to their abandonment, after which they speedily fell to ruin, and then the materials were appropriated by local builders.

But the work of reformation was still far from complete. As harvest approached the Congregation began to disperse, the Queen Regent was reinforced by the arrival of more French troops, and the tide of success turned. During the winter the fate of the Reformation hung in the balance. The French troops had originally been brought into the country to expel the English invaders. The Congregation now appealed to Queen Elizabeth to send English troops to expel the French invaders. The contending forces met at Leith, where the French were besieged by the English. Meanwhile the Queen-Regent died in Edinburgh Castle, then the French surrendered, and finally peace was concluded between the three kingdoms on 6th July, 1560, by the Treaty of Edinburgh.

England and France cried quits and withdrew their forces, Scotland was delivered from foreign invasion, the Congregation were absolved from their rebellion, but not the least important article of the Treaty, as regards subsequent events in the Church, was that which provided for the immediate meeting of Parliament.

---

[2] *The Reformation in Scotland*, pp. 314-428.

[3] *First Book of Discipline*, ch. xv. concerning the "Reparation of the Kirkes."

Parliament accordingly met during the following month. In several respects the validity of its proceedings was open to serious doubt, but the membership was of a large and representative character, and, uninfluenced by the absent Court, it was able to voice the real sentiment of the country in quite an unusual degree. Such legal defects as may have existed were made good by the first Parliament of James VI. in 1567, when the Acts relating to ecclesiastical affairs were re-enacted.

The Congregation lost not a moment in taking advantage of their opportunity. They presented a petition in the name of "The Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses and other true subjects of this realm," seeking redress of various "enormities" and "pestiferous errors" of the Roman Kirk, such as the doctrine of transubstantiation the adoration of Christ's Body under the form of bread; of the merits of works; papistical indulgences; purgatory; pilgrimages; and praying to departed saints. In this document they asked specially—(1) That such doctrines and idolatry as by God's Word are both condemned, may be abolished by Act of Parliament and punishment appointed for the transgressors. (2) That remedy be found for the abuse of the sacraments and for the lack of the true discipline of the ancient Kirk, and (3) that remedy be found for the "usurped authority" by which the whole patrimony of the Kirk is possessed and distributed by the Pope, who claims that all power is granted unto him, and the titles of "Vicar of Christ," "Head of the Kirk," etc.

The reply of Parliament to this petition was a demand for a statement of the doctrine which it was desired to establish. Four days later an elaborate Confession of Faith was submitted first to the Lords of the Articles and subsequently to the whole Estates assembled in Parliament, by whom it was adopted. The following week an Act was passed forbidding the saying of Mass and baptising " conform to the Pope's Kirk." A second Act abolished " the jurisdiction and authority of the Bishop of Rome called the Pope " or " his sect," within the realm ; and a third Act annulled all statutes in favour of Romanism and against the reformed doctrines.

By these measures Parliament gave effect to the policy for the reform of the Church advocated by Alane, Knox, and others. The Reformers never attempted the abolition of an ancient church and the foundation of a new one. There was no need to create a Protestant Church, and these Acts of Parliament certainly did not establish one. " It is a remarkable fact," wrote Prof. Robert Lee, " and may appear to us unaccountable, that they all, or nearly all, agreed with the Catholics in holding that for two churches to co-exist in the same country was monstrous, and even impossible—as much as for two states to co-exist, and that such schism was at all hazards to be repressed."[4]

The Scottish Church had now been delivered from a foreign yoke and had regained its long lost independence. While it had remained a mere branch of an alien organisation reformation was impossible, for the ultimate source of the errors in doctrine and laxity of discipline lay in the directorate of cardinals, mostly Italians, sitting in Rome under the presidency of the Pope. The issue before Parliament therefore resolved itself into one for the control of the Scottish Church—and the decision was against internationalism.

---

[4] *Life*, ii. p. 301.

The Confession was the touchstone. It was the work of six notable men, who also produced the First Book of Discipline. In a special sense these documents justify the assertion in the Claim of Right and Acts of 1689 and 1690 that the Church had been "reformed from popery by presbyters." These presbyters, who each bore the Christian name of John, were: Winram, Sub-Prior of St. Andrews, who, it will be remembered, figured in the trial and condemnation of the martyr George Wishart; Spottiswoode, parson of Calder; Willock, a Franciscan friar; Douglas, Rector of St. Andrews University; Row, priest at Perth, once a papal nuncio and the friend of two Popes; and Knox, priest at Haddington. In drafting these measures for reforming the doctrine and administration of the Church they altogether discarded the authority of tradition, which they had ample reason to believe had in many respects made "void the word of God" (S. Mk. vii. 13, R.V.), and adopted as their guiding principle the supreme authority, efficacy, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture. No doubt their understanding of it had its limitations, and indeed it could not be otherwise, for the knowledge of divine truth is ever progressive.

The Reformers, while expressing their readiness to learn, never doubted their own competence to interpret the Bible on certain subjects. They had long pleaded for "freedom and liberty of conscience," but it was for themselves only, and as soon as they obtained it they denied it to others. The Mass appeared to them nothing short of idolatry. The Old Testament plainly condemned idolators to death, therefore Parliament decreed that the saying or hearing of mass was a crime punishable by confiscation of goods for a first offence, banishment for a second, and by death for a third offence.[5] "The intolerance of this last enactment," writes Tulloch, "may fill us with pain, but can scarcely surprise us. In the Scottish Reformation . . . the struggle was not between freedom on the one hand, and ecclesiastical oppression on the other, but between two positive systems of religious opinion equally dogmatic in their presumed possession of the truth." [6]

It is noteworthy that the first step taken in the Reformation was in respect to doctrine rather than as to constitution and administration, and that the positive action of adopting the Confession of Faith took precedence of the negative action of abolishing papal authority and the Mass. That the Reformers were wise and farseeing in choosing this course was soon apparent, for they brought matters to a crisis at once by narrowing the real question at issue to one point—the crucial point which still separates the Roman from all other Christian churches, viz. Is the Pope the sole Vicar and Vice-Regent of God on earth? [7] In producing their Confession of Faith the Reformers directly challenged the citadel of the Roman system.

The Confession had a surprisingly easy passage through Parliament. The proceedings were marked by considerable deliberation. The draft was first submitted to the Lords of the Articles, and afterwards to the whole Parliament, when it was received with unexpected silence. An adjournment was then made so that it might be considered carefully before a vote was taken. Finally, on 17th August, 1560, the Confession was read over article by article and adopted by an overwhelming majority. At this memorable session of Parliament the clergy were represented by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Argyll, the Bishops-elect of Galloway and the Isles; the Prior and Sub-Prior of St. Andrews; the Abbots of Lindores, Coupar-Angus, New Abbey, Fearn, and Kinross; the Commendators of Arbroath, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Dryburgh, Inchcolme, Culross, Kilwinning, Deer, Coldingham, and St. Mary's Isle. The Archbishop of Glasgow had abandoned his see and was living in Paris, and none of the remaining bishops were present to defend their order. The Bishops of Argyll, Orkney, Caithness, The Isles, and the Bishop of Galloway, who was also, strange as it may appear, Archbishop of Athens, all belonged to the Reform party.

---

[5] See Note H, page 247.

[6] *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 371.

[7] See Note I, page 247.

Lords Borthwick and Somerville said, "We will believe as our fathers believed"; the Primate and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane merely urged delay. The Earl Marischal then said: "Seeing my lords the bishops here present speak nothing to the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. And therefore as far as in me lieth, I approve the one and condemn the other." The aged Lord Lindsay declared that he was ready to sing his "Nunc Dimittis." The battle for reform in the Church was won.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRUE AND HOLY KIRK

BEFORE continuing our story, it will be convenient to pause and consider briefly some of the measures by means of which the reformation of the Church was effected. These were mainly: (1) The Confession of 1560, concerning matters of Faith; (2) The Book of Common Order, concerning Worship; (3) The Books of Discipline (1560 and 1578), and the Act of Parliament of 1592 called the Church's Charter, concerning Ecclesiastical Polity.

I. FAITH.

The Confession "professed and believed" as "holesome and sound Doctrine, grounded upon the infallibill Treuthe of Godis Word," consists of a preface and twenty-five articles. It lays no claim to inerrancy; on the contrary it challenges criticism and protests in memorable words, "that if any man will note in this our Confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, that it would please him, of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writing, and we of our honour and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, that is, from His Holy Scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss."

The Confession betrays more than a trace of the heated controversial spirit of the period, and is disfigured by some harsh and even vituperative expressions ; but apart from such blemishes it pulsates with intense virility and reveals unmistakeably the piety, scholarship, and wide spiritual conceptions of the Reformers. It asserts the doctrine of the Catholic Creeds as to the divinity of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, and condemns vigorously the classical heresies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, and Nestorius. The authority of the Scriptures is declared to be of God and not of the Church, " which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouse and Pastor, but taketh not upon her to be mistress over the same." That which godly men assembled together in General Council have approved is not to be rashly condemned, and so far as it agrees with the plain Word of God it is to be reverenced and embraced. " For we dare not receive and admit any interpretation, which directly impugneth to any principal point of our faith, to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet to the rule of charity." It is to be feared that this last most excellent canon of interpretation has been too often overlooked.

The Church is regarded both as an invisible whole and as visibly militant here on earth. The former is " Catholic, that is, universal because it contains the elect of all ages, all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles . . . without which Kirk there is neither life nor eternal felicity. . . . This Kirk is invisible, known only to God, who alone knoweth it, whom he hath chosen, and comprehends as well the elect that be departed (commonly called the Kirk Triumphant) as those that yet live, and fight against sin and Satan as shall live hereafter."

The True Church is discerned from the false not by "antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an error"; but by the true preaching of the Word of God, the right administration of the Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered. The Reformers cherished high ideals: to them the Chruch was, in the words of the Confession, "the Immaculate Spouse of Christ Jesus," and elsewhere, "the Society of Christ's Body," "the True Kirk of God," and more frequently "the True and Holy Kirk."

The Sacraments are stated to be—"Baptism, and the Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, called The Communion of His Body and Blood." The view that these are nothing more than bare signs is strongly condemned. "We assuredly believe, that by Baptism we are engrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted. And also in the Supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that He becometh the very nourishment and food of our souls." The transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the natural body and blood of Christ is repudiated, but it is held that the Holy Spirit carries us, by faith "above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus which was once broken and shed for us. . . . So that we confess and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's Table, so do eat the Body and drink the Blood of the Lord Jesus, that He remaineth in them, and they in Him."

The mystery of Election is not presented in the harsh and repellent form of later theologians in their endeavours to define the undefinable. In the main it is a statement of positive truth. One sentence alone is sufficient to indicate the broad and lofty conceptions of the Reformers: "For that same eternal God and Father, who of mere mercy elected us in Christ Jesus His Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed Him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor, and great Bishop of our souls. . . . By which most holy fraternity whatsoever was lost in Adam is restored to us again."

As regards the Civil Magistrate, it is stated that the powers of Kings and Magistrates are God's holy ordinance. To them "chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertains." Those in authority "are the lieutenants of God, in whose session God Himself doth sit and judge, to whom by God is given the Sword, to the praise and defence of guid men or to revenge or punish all open malefactors." Such are some of the features of the Reformers' Confession.

The "Negative Confession," a supplementary manifesto, was adopted in 1580 during a scare caused by the fear of Rome regaining control of the Church, when it was thought desirable for all, from the youthful King downwards, to repudiate formally with abhorrence and detestation a whole catalogue of doctrinal errors. It was a far-off precursor of the modern papal "Syllabus of Errors." In 1616 an Episcopalian General Assembly at Aberdeen adopted a new Confession (annulled 1638) which was free from many of the blemishes of the old one. It was distinguished by its evangelical tone and by the absence of any repudiation of doctrinal errors.

Otherwise, "the New Confession," writes Dr. Grub,[1] "agrees with the old one in all important points; the chief difference being in its more marked enunciation of the doctrine of Calvin in regard to election and predestination."

II. Worship.

The problem of the form of public worship and the celebration of the Sacraments was one which grew in importance with the progress of the Reformation. Towards its solution two currents of opinion and practice operated. These were derived from the Reformers in England and in France, who had proceeded on entirely different principles. In England the Roman liturgy was first of all translated into the vulgar tongue and then amended, some portions being altered or omitted and new material added. In France, the Reformers sought to restore not only the faith and constitution, but also the worship of the primitive church in apostolic times. In Scotland both of these systems received a trial. At first the Lords of the Congregation adopted (1557) the second prayer-book of Edward VI. In its composition and general arrangements it is very similar to the English Church prayer-book now in use, though there are important differences. Knox himself assisted in its preparation, but soon after its issue he removed to the Continent, where he adapted the prayer-book of the French Reformed (Huguenot) Church for the use of the congregation of English refugees at Frankfort. The book thus prepared is known as the "Book of Geneva" or more popularly as "John Knox' Liturgy."

---

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 306.

After his return to Scotland in 1559 the French form proved the more generally acceptable, and in 1564 Knox' book, revised and enlarged, was approved by the General Assembly, and the "Book of Common Order," as it was now called, became the authorised directory of public worship for eighty-one years (1564-1645).

In many respects the Book of Common Order compares unfavourably with the Book of Common Prayer, but it possesses one advantage of supreme importance. It combines optional and prescribed forms of prayer, with provision for the exercise of a minister's gifts in offering appropriate prayer on certain occasions. By the introduction of "conceived" prayer, as extempore prayer was termed, the Reformers restored an essential feature of the worship of the Church in New Testament times.[2] If all men could pray always, it has been well said, as some men pray sometimes there would be little need for liturgies; but experience too often teaches the church-goer that it is not in the average man to express extempore in comprehensive, concise, and becoming language all the varied needs of the Christian congregation in public worship. The Book of Common Order was both a liturgy and a directory, and it supplied a much needed help in conducting the services of the Church.

But the Reformers carried out their task in an unfortunate manner. Certainly the circumstances were not favourable for producing a satisfactory liturgy. The passion of controversy was still raging, and all ancient forms of devotional expression were suspect. The sacred literature of previous ages, in which the noblest thoughts and aspirations of the human heart found utterance in reverent and stately diction, was passed by unutilised, and the forms of prayer produced were crude, verbose, and diffuse. These and other defects in the Book of Common Order would in any case have proved fatal to its continued use, but its end strangely enough was brought about by its comprehensiveness and moderation—the very qualities which appear at first sight to be so conspicuously lacking. Through combining prepared forms with provision for extempore prayer it pleased neither of two extreme parties—both of English origin. The Episcopalians endeavoured unsuccessfully to supplant it with prescribed forms by "Laud's" Liturgy in 1637; but the Independent opposition to all prepared forms of prayer prevailed in 1645, when the Westminster Directory was adopted.

---

[2] See Note J, page 247.

The Book of Common Order contains sections on Public Worship, the Sacraments, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Excommunication, Public Repentance, Absolution, Fasting, also a Confession of Faith, Prayers for various occasions, Psalms and Hymns in metre, and forms for the appointment of office-bearers. The Order for Public Worship begins with a characteristic rubric as follows: "When the Congregation is assembled at the hour appointed, the Minister useth this confession (of sins) or like in effect, exhorting the people diligently to examine themselves, following in their hearts the tenor of his words." Then follow four different forms of prayer and the next rubric reads: "This done, the people sing a Psalm altogether, in a plain tune (*i.e.* a plain song melody) which ended, the Minister prayeth for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, as the same shall move his heart, and so proceedeth to the sermon; using after the sermon this prayer following or suchlike."

The prayer referred to is one, "For the whole estate of Christ's Church" (without, however, making reference to the blessed dead), and concludes with a collect and the Apostle's Creed, thus:

> "Almighty and Everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to grant us perfect continuance in Thy lively faith, augmenting the same in us daily, till we grow to the full measure of our perfection in Christ whereof we make our Confession, saying,—
>
> *I believe in God the Father Almighty,* etc."

The final rubric is: "then the people sing a psalm, which ended, the Minister pronounceth one of these blessings, and so the Congregation departeth."

The ministry of the Sacraments, it is stated, is "necessarily annexed to God's Word as seals of the same." The Order of Baptism is entirely in prescribed form, and is conducted, not in private or in a baptistry, but in the face of the whole congregation after the sermon. The father, or in his absence the godfather,[3] is required to rehearse the articles of his faith in the words of the Apostles' Creed. When pronouncing the baptismal formula, the minister lays water on the forehead of the child and the service is concluded with a prayer of thanksgiving.

In the administration of the Lord's Supper, which was to take place usually once a month, "the minister," after a preliminary exhortation, "cometh down from the pulpit and sitteth at the Table." These few words of rubric indicate a momentous reform. The priest standing at the altar has disappeared from the Scottish Church, and instead we have the minister[4] sitting at

[3] See Note K, page 248. [4] See Note L, p. 248

the Table.[5] "Then he taketh bread and giveth thanks. . . . This done the minister breaketh the bread and delivereth it to the people who distribute it among themselves according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and likewise giveth the Cup." "These outward signs of bread and wine are called the visible word." In ordering the sacred rite on such simple lines the Reformers claimed that "without Christ's word and warrant there is nothing in this holy action attempted."

Milton's famous saying that "new *presbyter* is but old *priest* writ large" seems to be not without some foundation when we turn to the various Orders of Ecclesiastical Discipline in which, perhaps wisely, little is left to the discretion, or indiscretion, of the officiating minister. Discipline, it is explained, "is a bridle to stay the wicked from their mischiefs. It is a spur to prick forward such as be slow and negligent." The offender is first of all to be admonished privately as directed in S. Matt. xviii. 15; if he prove stubborn, then in the presence of two or three witnesses; and finally when necessary the matter is to be disclosed "to the Church, so that, according to public discipline, he either may be received through repentance, or else be punished, as his fault requireth." Should the offender confess his sin and submit, the minister pronounces a conditional absolution as follows: "If thou unfeignedly repent of thy former iniquity and believe in the Lord Jesus, then I in His Name, pronounce and affirm that thy sins are forgiven, not only on earth but also in Heaven, according to the promises annexed to the preaching of His Word, and to the power put in the Ministry of His Church." The rubric adds: "Then shall the elders and deacons, with ministers

---

[5] See Note M, p. 249.

(if any be) in the name of the whole Church, take the reconciled brother by the hand, and embrace him in sign of full reconciliation."

If, however, the offender prove impenitent he might be admonished privately, rebuked by the Kirk-session, suspended from Holy Communion for a season, or finally, in the case of gross sin, suffer the extreme penalty of excommunication. In this latter case the minister, after public admonition on three successive Sundays, in the middle of solemn prayer, pronounces this sentence: "Here I in Thy name, and at the commandment of this Thy congregation, cut off, seclude, and excommunicate from Thy Body and from our society N. . . . And this his sin . . . by virtue of our ministry we bind and pronounce the same to be bound in heaven and earth. We further give over into the hands of the devil the said N. to the destruction of his flesh. . . ."

From the censures of the Church the sinner could only be delivered by a public confession of penitence which varied in form according to the degree of his sin. What was conceived to be the privilege of being permitted to confess came in course of time to be regarded as a punishment, and was sometimes commuted for a payment of money for pious uses—an arrangement which it is difficult to distinguish from the sale of an indulgence. At the stool of repentance, the offender made humble confession and was admonished. In the more serious cases he had to stand barefooted and clad in sackcloth at the church door in the "jougs"—(*jugulum*—the throat)—an iron band that passed around his throat. One who was excommunicated had to stand thus for more than one Sunday before being permitted to approach the stool or place of public repentance. Then after admonition and solemn prayer the minister proceeded: "I . . . absolve thee N. . . . from the sin by thee committed . . . according to thy repentance; and pronounce thy sin to be loosed in heaven. . . ." "The absolution pronounced," adds the rubric, "the minister shall call him brother . . . thereafter the whole ministry shall embrace him and such others of the church as be next to him, and then shall a Psalm of thanksgiving be sung."

During this period James VI. ordered that preachers should wear "black, grave, and comely apparel," and black gowns in the pulpit. Doctors of divinity and bishops were to wear black cassikins or aprons to the knee, black gowns, and black crape about the neck. It was customary to kneel at prayer, and on the occasion of a Fast, minister and people were directed to—"prostrate themselves and remain in private meditation a reasonable space, as a quarter of an hour or more." As in the Eastern Church, both organs and images were banished, and the praise was led by the Reader, or the Uptaker of the Psalms, who sometimes was assisted by a choir. During the sermon the men kept on their hats and occasionally applauded. Marriages were always celebrated in church, at first on Sundays but latterly on weekdays. Daily service was the rule in towns and even in villages, and some churches were kept open for private prayer. Public worship on Sunday mornings began with the Reader's service at 8 or 9 o'clock, followed by the minister's at 10 o'clock, which concluded about an hour or two later. Worship, when children were catechised, was resumed about 1 o'clock in the afternoon and terminated about 4 o'clock.

III. Ecclesiastical Polity.

The theology of the Reformers was in advance of their ecclesiastical polity, and the reorganisation of the Church was a work requiring study and time. One great advantage, however, they possessed: though the authority of the Pope had been abolished, the spiritual independence of the Church remained, and they were able to work out their own reformation, though not without encountering many difficulties. The Reformers therefore proceeded at once to administer the affairs of the Church—ministers and commissioners from towns and country parishes meeting together from time to time, not infrequently at first on Christmas Day, for this purpose.

It is somewhat remarkable that no attempt seems to have been made to adopt episcopacy as the polity of the Church. The divine rights of presbytery and episcopacy had not as yet begun to agitate the ecclesiastical world, and it might have been expected that efforts would be made to follow the example of England, from whence had come such invaluable aid in effecting the Reformation in Scotland. Then again the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, the Isles, Argyll, and Galloway were members of the reform party, though how many of them were regularly "consecrated" is uncertain, but they took no steps to perpetuate their order. Further, the pressing needs of the hour pointed to the practical advantages of episcopal oversight. The work of reorganising the ministry of the Church throughout the country required the personal attention of an official in authority, and with this end in view the General Assembly created the office of Superintendent, which simply means "overseer" or "bishop."

The special functions of Superintendents were to provide, or "plant," as it was termed, all the churches with ministers or readers; to preach at least three times a week when travelling through their dioceses—for so their districts were called; to exercise discipline; and to care for the poor and the young. It was originally intended that there should be ten or twelve Superintendents, but only five were actually appointed: they were, however, supplemented by twenty-six Commissioners or visitors, who exercised similar functions in smaller districts. The resemblance of Superintendents to Bishops is striking, and they might have easily proved a stepping-stone to episcopacy. Perhaps this was realised, for the office was soon allowed to fall into desuetude. But the resemblance is merely superficial, for none of the Superintendents claimed authority to govern the Church in virtue of a divine commission vested in a traditional hierarchy. On the contrary they were "subject to the censure and correction of ministers and elders." They were the servants of the General Assembly, which, as a matter of fact, did not create "the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters."

In forming their constitution the Reformers followed the same principle of the supreme authority and sufficiency of Holy Scripture as in forming their confession of faith. "The ministers that were," wrote John Row,[6] son of the reformer already mentioned, "took not their pattern from any kirk in the world, no, not from Geneva itself; but, laying God's word before them, made reformation according thereunto, both in doctrine first and then in discipline when and as they might get it overtaken." It led them not to episcopacy but to presbytery. They found, as S. Jerome and many other ancient and modern scholars have found, that "the presbyter is identical with the bishop, and before parties had so multiplied under diabolical influence, the churches were governed by a council of presbyters."[7] No better description of the presbyterian system than that of S. Jerome could be desired. To the presbyter-bishops meeting in a hierarchy of councils was restored the government of the Scottish Church.

---

[6] Row, *Historie*, p. 12.

The Reformers believed their views to be "conform to God's Word in all points, and such as the practice of the apostolic and primitive kirk and good order craves." They are unfolded in the *First* and *Second Book of Discipline*. The *First Book* was drawn up by John Knox and the other authors of the Confession of Faith, and is in the form of a report to the Great Council of Scotland to whom it was presented in 1560. It was intended to meet the immediate necessities of the day rather than as an exposition of the principles of church government, but it never obtained the sanction of Parliament for a not very creditable reason. The Church proposed to use its own property and revenues for ecclesiastical purposes, but as the barons had largely appropriated them to their own profit they affected to regard the Book as a "devout imagination." Knox explains this in his usual graphic style: "Sum were licentious, sum had gredily grippit the possession of the Kirk, and others thought they wald not lack their parte of Christ's Cote." The *Second Book* was inspired by Andrew Melville and was agreed upon by the General

---

[7] In Epist. Tit. "The Biblical knowledge of S. Jerome makes him rank first among ancient exegetes" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*).

Assembly in 1578. It is based on more general principles than the *First Book*, and it formed the basis of the Act of 1592, usually called the Church's Charter, which conferred jurisdiction on Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies. This Act, restored and ratified at the Revolution Settlement in 1690, forms the constitutional basis of the Church at the present time.

The General Assembly and Kirk-Sessions were the first councils in point of time to be constituted. Once a week in towns and other convenient centres the ministers met together for what was called "prophesyings" at meetings of "the Exercise," or in other words for Bible Study at a devotional meeting after the example of "the Kirk of Corinth" (1 Cor. xiv. 29-32). The Exercises developed in course of time into Presbyteries, and finally provincial assemblies or Synods were established. The reorganisation of the Church, it is important to note, was evolved and effected by ecclesiastical and not by civil authority. Parliament ultimately sanctioned and ratified what the Church had established, and conferred jurisdiction on the ecclesiastical courts already in existence.

The *Second Book* states that the "final end of all assemblies is first to keep the religion and doctrine in purity, without error and corruption. Next, to keep cumliness and gude ordor in the kirk . . . Elderships and assemblies are commonly constitute of pastors, doctors, and such as we commonly call elders, that labour not in the word or doctrine." "Pastors, bishops, or ministers are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the Word of God and over which they watch. In respect whereof sometimes they are called pastors, because they feed their congregation; sometimes *episcopi* or bishops because they watch over their flock; sometimes ministers by reason of their service and office; and sometimes also presbyters or seniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have in taking care of the spiritual government, which ought to be most dear unto them." The Scottish Church is sometimes thought by the superficial observer to have no bishops and no cathedrals: such is however very far from being the case in reality. Every minister it will be seen is a bishop, not indeed in the modern colloquial, but in the New Testament meaning of the term which is of more importance, and his church is, strictly speaking, his cathedral. The Doctor, it is explained, is an elder, but may also be a minister, who teaches theology in schools and universities. Elders are those "whom the apostles call presidents or governors." Theirs is "a spiritual function," and "it is ordinary, perpetual and always necessary in the Kirk of God." "He is called a ruling elder," writes Steuart of Pardovan, to quote a later authority, "because to rule and govern the church is the chief part of his charge and employment therein . . . and it belongs not to him to preach or teach." "Their ordination is to be by the minister of the congregation." [8]

One of the first and most pressing problems which the Church had to solve was the provision of an adequate ministry for nearly a thousand parishes. Where were the ministers to come from? The supply came, it is of interest and importance to note, chiefly from the ranks of the clergy, regular and secular. In August, 1573, the Regent Morton wrote to the General Assembly:

---

[8] See Note N, p. 250.

"Seeing the most part of the persons who were Channons, Monks and Friars within this realm, have made profession of the true religion, it is therefore thought meet, that it be enjoined to them to pass and serve as readers at the places where they shall be appointed."

The Reader was an assistant who read prayers and Scripture, led the singing, and was permitted to exhort, but was debarred from ministering the Sacraments. He officiated from a lettern or lectern, which in later times was used by his official successor—the precentor. After a probationary period, some of the Readers were raised to the full status of minister. Within seven years (1567) the Church had a staff of 257 ministers, 151 exhorters and 455 readers. In 1574 the numbers had increased to 289 ministers and 715 readers, a total of over 1000 persons.[9]

Of this period of transition Principal Story has well observed: "The old order changed, giving place to the new, but between the two there was no absolute disruption. Out of the Romanist emerged the Reformed ministry. As, four hundred years before, the Celtic Church had been amalgamated with the Church of Rome, so now, though the passage was more rapid and stormy, the Romanist was in part absorbed into, in part superseded by, the Reformed."[10]

But though the need of finding a sufficient number of ministers was pressing, no irregularity was to be allowed. "None ought to presume to preach or yet to minister the sacraments till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission." In this definition we see again evidence of the moderation of the

---

[9] Wodrow, *Miscellany*, i. 326.

[10] *Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church*, p. 243.

Scottish Church. It is the *via media* between the episcopal and the congregational systems: the former being based on the right of the clergy to appoint the clergy or—as expressed by the phrase—"appointment from above"; the latter on the right of every congregation to appoint its own minister, expressed as—"appointment from below." The Reformers, founding their policy on precedents in the New Testament, united these two systems whereby congregations had the right to elect their ministers, who after examination were ordained and admitted to their charges by the clergy. In the *First Book* the laying on of hands during prayer at ordination was judged not to be necessary "seeing the miracle is ceased." The *Second Book*, however, reverts to the ancient usage and defines ordination as: "the separation and sanctifying of the person appointed to God and His Kirk after he be well tried and found qualified. The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and imposition of hands of the eldership"—*i.e.* presbytery.

Any concern felt on account of the disuse for a time of the imposition of hands is to a large extent needless, in view of the fact that it was restored in the course of a few years. We know that it was practised in 1572, and it was prescribed in the *Second Book of Discipline* in 1578. The first of the reformed clergy had been ordained as well as baptised under the Roman system. The validity of both ordinances was recognised, and the great majority of the clergy must have survived the period of omission, and been in a position to transmit what is termed the apostolic succession "with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."[1] If at one time the Reformers regarded lineal descent lightly, it was because they were profoundly convinced of the overwhelming importance of that succession which "continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers"—a continuity which had been lamentably lacking in their previous experience. Happily it was soon perceived that there is no inconsistency between these two aspects of apostolic succession, and accordingly "the laying on of hands of the presbytery" was restored, and has continued ever since.

---

[1] See Note O, p. 251.

To the deacons or treasurers was to be committed the whole patrimony of the Church for administration as instructed by the ministers and elders. The patrimony consisted of what was termed temporalities and spiritualities, the former being lands and the latter the tenths or teinds of the produce. The plan of the Reformers was that the temporalities, which mostly belonged to the cathedrals and monasteries, should be devoted to the support of the superintendents and the universities; and that the spiritualities should be divided into three parts between the minister, the school, and the poor of the parish.

The necessity for schools is set forth in a very characteristic passage as follows: "Seeing that God hath determined that His Kirk here in earth shall be taught not by angels but by man, and seeing that men are born ignorant of God and of all godliness, and seeing He ceases to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them as He did the Apostles and others in the primitive Kirk; of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly up-bringing of the youth of this realm . . . for as the youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit the Kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ." Every church was to have a schoolmaster able to teach grammar and Latin, and in towns colleges were to be erected in which logic, rhetoric, and tongues should be taught. It is remarkable to find in those far-off days compulsory and free education laid down. "All must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue." "We think it expedient . . . that provision be made for those that be poor, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in special those that come from landward."

Pauperism and vagrancy were rife in Scotland in olden times, and the Reformers had to be on their guard while relieving the poor not to encourage idleness. "We are not patrons," it is stated, "for stubborn and idle beggars who running from place to place make a craft of their begging, whom the civil magistrate ought to compel to work or then punish; but for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent or lamed, who neither can nor may travail for their sustentation, we say that God commands His people to be careful." It is interesting to find that the relief of the poor is made a charge on the parish of their birth, unless "by long continuance" they have acquired a settlement elsewhere. In ordinary cases the poor must proceed to the place where they were born, where the kirk must make reasonable provision for their sustentation.

Alas! these schemes for the support of the ministry, the the schools, and the poor, which seem to us so wise, remained mere "devout imaginations." The immense wealth of the Church which would have provided ample means for accomplishing these objects had begotten a hideous passion of unholy coveteousness. Popes and clerics, sovereigns and nobles lusted after Church lands and revenues. What they could rob rather than what they could consecrate was the main question with them. The Church of Scotland emerged from the crisis of the Reformation stripped and impoverished materially, but purified and ennobled spiritually.

CHAPTER VII

REACTION

The triumph of the Reformers was complete, but it was not to remain unchallenged. The forces of reaction were directed against the Scottish Church, seeking to bring her into subjection to Roman Catholicism and to English Episcopacy, and a struggle began which was to last in an acute form for a century and which has not yet altogether ceased. Just a year after the acceptance by Parliament of the Confession of Faith, Mary Queen of Scots returned to her native land to take possession of her kingdom. Though the widowed Queen of France, Mary was but a girl of nineteen when, accompanied by a brilliant suite of French courtiers, she landed at Leith on an August morning in the year 1561. All went merrily till Sunday came round, when preparations were made in the chapel at Holyrood to celebrate Mass. The utmost consternation was created and it is hard to say what might have happened had not Lord James Stewart, the Queen's half-brother, stationed himself at the door and preserved order. Next Sunday John Knox delivered a vehement denunciation of idolatry, and said that—"one Mass was more fearful unto him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm." Shortly after this outburst the Queen sent for Knox who "dealt faithfully" with her and used the most appalling language. Mary had a pretty wit and flitted about from one topic to another in an airy manner, against which Knox' ponderous expositions were launched in vain. At that period she had probably neither more nor less religion than most young ladies in France, but she said quite frankly, "I will defend the Kirk of Rome."

Subsequently a serious danger threatened the Church should the Queen marry Don Carlos the Infant of Spain, as was rumoured. The thought of the terrible persecutions which a Spanish marriage led to in England roused Knox to even greater vehemence than usual in his preaching, and occasioned a stormy and painful interview with the Queen in Holyrood. Mary burst into floods of tears and asked:

"What have ye to do with my marriage? and what are ye in this commonwealth?"

"A subject born within the same, Madam!" replied Knox.

The Queen's Grace was aghast: a subject with rights! Such a thing was never heard of in France—not until the French Revolution.

Shortly after she had taken up her residence at Holyrood the Pope sent a nuncio—Nicholas Goudanus, S.J., accompanied by two other Jesuits, on a secret mission to the Queen. He reported that the Reformers were so powerful and so tyrannical that most of the bishops and nobles of the Roman party showed the greatest reluctance to receive him or even to reply to his letters. The Jesuits returned to Italy sadder and wiser men, finding a counter reformation impossible in Scotland.

The arrival of Mary added greatly to the difficulties of the new administration in the Church, and not least as regards its patrimony. The following December the Queen held a meeting of her Secret Council at which the Archbishop of St. Andrews and other (Roman) bishops offered to be content with the life-rent of three-fourths of their benefices, and to place the remaining fourth at the disposal of the Queen to be employed as her Majesty thought expedient—a delicate way of indicating the support of the reformed clergy. The proposal, modified to thirds, was adopted in spite of the protests of the reformers. Her Majesty thought it expedient to help herself so liberally out of the third falling to the crown, that only the merest pittance reached the ministers, who were to a large extent dependent on the offerings of the faithful.

In six short years Mary's reign came to a pitiable end in Lochleven Castle, and the crown of Scotland once more devolved upon an infant. Lord James Stewart, now Earl of Moray, who had proved himself a tower of strength to the Reformers, became Regent, and under him and his successor the Church was in a position to carry on its work in comparative freedom, until James VI. arrived at years of indiscretion.

A somewhat anomalous state of affairs existed during this period. The hierarchy had fallen, but the prelates remained and formed one of the three estates of the realm in Parliament. There were nominal bishops and archbishops without any clergy, and there were abbots and priors without any monasteries; a few still owned allegiance to Rome, some belonged to the reform party, and some were laymen. Various questions arose when vacancies occurred, but it was not till 1571 that matters reached a crisis. In that year John Hamilton, the last

Roman Archbishop of St. Andrews, was shamefully hanged in his episcopal robes on a public gibbet in Stirling, under the Regent Lennox, for complicity in the murders of Darnley and Moray. What was to be done with the vacant see and its revenues? After much consideration a convention was held at Leith the following year (1572), when a concordat was arrived at between some prominent churchmen and the Privy Council. Among other matters it was agreed, although the convention seems to have lacked any ecclesiastical authority —that nominal bishops should be appointed to occupy the different sees but that they should have no more power than superintendents, and like them should be subject to the General Assembly. It was also agreed that the abbots and priors should retain their seats in Parliament, and that before they were admitted they should be examined by the Church and made to provide adequate stipends for the ministers within their bounds. The General Assembly subsequently ratified the agreement *ad interim*, while protesting against the retention of ecclesiastical titles which savoured of "papistrie." It was hoped by this means to save part at least of the ecclesiastical lands and revenues. Knox disliked the arrangement and events justified his misgivings. The new bishops earned the opprobrious name of "tulchans" and the Church gained nothing. A "tulchan" was a stuffed calf skin which placed beside a cow promoted the yield of milk. The "tulchan Bishops" were mere men of straw set up by the nobles to draw the diocesan income and hand over the greater part to their patrons.

Meanwhile the alienation of the patrimony of the Church proceeded apace. The most valuable endowments were gifted to favourites of the court *in com-*

mendam whenever a vacancy occurred, and in course of time the life-rent was converted into a perpetual hereditary right. Thus church lands were secularised, and the "Lords of Erection," as the new possessors were styled, assumed the patronage of the parish churches. Nor was the crown the only offender in this respect: bishops, abbots, and priors realising that their day was over, feued and sold church lands for nominal considerations to their friends and relations—as well as to their own families. The manses and glebes, alone of all the vast temporalities, remained in the possession of the Church.

As for the spiritualities or teinds, the parishes had already to a large extent been robbed of them by the great monasteries and cathedral chapters. At the time of the Reformation, the revenues of no fewer than 678 of the 940 parishes in Scotland had been alienated in this manner. Such parishes, termed "patrimonial," were served by vicars, and the teinds were therefore called "vicarage teinds." The patronage of the remaining 262 parishes, designated "patronate," remained in the hands of the landlord who appointed the parson or rector, and the teinds in such parishes are called "parsonage teinds." In patrimonial parishes the teinds mostly passed into the possession of the Lords of Erection or were farmed by tacksmen for a nominal consideration; while in patronate parishes the patron took the teinds and only provided a barely sufficient stipend for the minister. The wholesale robbery of the Church was a most contemptible business which no Scotsman can recall without a feeling of shame. Amid all the self-seeking and underhand dealing of this period, the character and reputation of the reformed clergy remains untarnished. They alone sought to appoint deacons or treasurers, and auditors be it noted, to conserve the patrimony of the Church and to expend its revenue honestly and wisely.

On 24th November, 1572, John Knox died at his house in the High Street of Edinburgh, aged 67. An eminent English historian (Froude) has characterised him as " the grandest figure in the entire history of the British Reformation." Knox was a self-made man. Unlike Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart he had none of the advantages of birth or education. He arose out of the obscure ranks of the priesthood, and by his abilities and force of character became a leader of the nation during the great turning point in its history. He found it in a state of indescribable moral degradation, and inspired it with noble ideals and a passion for righteousness which have never passed away.

If Knox' views appear to us stern and his words at times fanatical, the circumstances in which he was placed must not be forgotten. He had been too long a priest to be able to tolerate those who differed from him, and he was fighting against a religious tyranny of extreme wickedness. Not all the blandishments of Mary, whose youth, beauty, and charm of manner were so potent, could blind Knox to the power behind the throne, exerted by her uncles—the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, and by her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici whose machinations plunged France into the Wars of Religion (1562-95) and brought about the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (24th August, 1572), the news of which saddened his closing days. From a fate like that of France Knox saved Scotland by his inspiring leadership and incorruptible honesty. His body, worn out before its time, was laid to rest in the graveyard between S. Giles' Church and Parliament House, when the Regent Morton pronounced this memorable eulogy—" Here lies one who neither feared nor flattered any flesh."

At the early age of twelve years James VI. assumed, nominally at least, the government of his kingdom. His was not an attractive or inspiring personality, and his eccentricities gave rise to the epigram that he was " the wisest fool in Christendom." He was educated by George Buchanan, the greatest scholar of his age, and so well instructed that when only eight years old he astonished the English ambassador by translating any chapter of the Bible out of Latin into French and then into English. He was guided throughout life by one principle, viz. self-interest, which he was firmly persuaded was in his case—" the divine right of kings," and led to many apparent inconsistencies in his character and conduct.

The Duke of Guise and Catherine de Medici lost little time in endeavouring to inveigle their youthful relative into the Catholic League. The following year a young Franco-Scottish noble, Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, of charming manners and questionable morals, was sent over from France to captivate the King. This he accomplished so successfully with the help of a likeminded younger son of Lord Ochiltree's—a brother-in-law, strange to say, of John Knox—that he was soon created Duke of Lennox while his companion became Earl of Arran. The infatuation of James aroused the alarm of the Church and the jealousy of the nobles, the latter of whom seized the person of the King at the " Raid of Ruthven " and so removed him from his doubtful associates. The ministers rejoiced so indiscreetly in the deliverance from the threatened peril that James cherished feelings of resentment which afterwards found expression in the "Black Acts" passed by Parliament in 1584. By these measures, the supremacy of the Crown over the Church in spiritual matters was asserted; the administration of the Church was placed in the hands of the bishops; and all conventions or assemblies without the King's sanction were forbidden.

James was but a lad of seventeen at this time, and in these measures can be traced the hand of Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews, formerly minister of Paisley. This titular prelate, an able and learned man, had just returned from a mission to London where he must have felt humiliated when he contrasted his position with that of his brother of Canterbury. By the "Black Acts" the Crown and the Primate were placed in relation to the Church in a position approximating to what existed in England. But events were about to happen which were destined to interrupt for some years James' policy of seeking to strengthen his position by Anglicanising the Scottish Church.

The whole of Scotland was inexpressibly shocked at the execution of Mary (1587), and all English institutions assumed a sinister aspect. The following year the Spanish Armada revived the dread of Roman influences and power, which was accentuated the next year by the discovery that some of the nobles in the north were plotting for a Spanish invasion. During the winter of 1589-90 James spent some months in Denmark where he married the Lutheran King's daughter Anne. With a wider experience of life and a wholesome distrust of foreign ways, he evinced on his return a greater appreciation of Scottish institutions. He attended a meeting of the General Assembly and made a speech in which he praised God that he was born in such a time "to be King in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world." "The Kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule, as for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings." "I charge you, my good people," he continued, ". . . to stand to your purity . . . and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." In the course of a couple of years the "Black Acts" were repealed, and jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs was conferred upon Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies by the Act of 1592, well named the Church's Charter.

This settlement of the Church was largely due to Andrew Melville. He was one of those Scots of eager scholarship, strong character, and wandering propensities who rose to eminence in continental universities and returned to enrich the intellectual life of their native country. Two years after Knox' death Melville returned to Scotland and was at once appointed principal of Glasgow University—a position he afterwards exchanged for that of S. Mary's College, St. Andrews. He soon made his influence felt in the Church, by his ability and moral courage. On one occasion he was sent with others by the General Assembly to present a list of "griefs of the Kirk" to the King. When it was read the Earl of Arran, who was in attendance, hotly demanded:

"Who dares to subscribe these treasonable articles?"

"We dare!" promptly replied Melville who boldly advanced to the table and signed his name setting an example which was followed by his colleagues.

Melville's name is chiefly associated with two important doctrines of church policy, viz. the divine right of presbytery and the spiritual independence of the Church, and as these gave rise to much controversy it may be convenient to consider them here briefly. The identity of presbyters and bishops in the New Testament was no discovery of Melville's.[1] It was known to the early fathers of the Church, but with other and more important truths, it had been forgotten and lost sight of amid the multitude of Roman traditions. Melville brought it forth to the light of day and put it in practice. His teaching has been amply confirmed by modern scholars, and by none more emphatically than by episcopalians. "It is a fact now generally recognised by theologians of all shades of opinion, that in the language of the New Testament the same officer in the church is called indifferently 'bishop' (ἐπίσκοπος) and 'elder' or 'presbyter' (πρεσβύτερος)." This is the statement not of a presbyterian but of one of the most eminent episcopalian scholars of the last century, viz. Dr. J. B. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham.[2]

Melville believed as thoroughly as any, and more truly than many, that without a bishop there could be no church; but he held that the presbyter, *i.e.* the minister or pastor of the parish or congregation was the true bishop in the sense of the term as used in the New Testament. The *Second Book of Discipline* stated: "It agrees not with the Word of God that bishops should be pastors of pastors, pastors of many flocks and yet without a certain flock and without ordinary teaching." Melville contended that episcopacy, as a system differentiating between a bishop and a presbyter, had no warrant in the New Testament.[3] From this he drew the conclusion that presbytery was of divine right and that episcopacy was unlawful. This view was set forth with some bluntness in a manifesto by some of the leading ministers of the Church in 1660 as follows: " Episcopacy and other forms are men's devices, but presbyterial government is a divine ordinance."[4] A less extreme conclusion is generally adopted nowadays. While the example of the Apostles is not lightly to be cast aside, it is recognised that no definite form of church government is prescribed in Scripture. " It is not necessary," writes Dr. Norman Macleod, " to assert the divine right (*jus divinum*) of Presbytery in any sense which requires us to deny the church-standing of those by whom it is rejected. No reasonable advocate of Presbytery nowadays is likely to adopt the position of Andrew Melville and some of his followers in the seventeenth century with reference to this point. Nor, consequently, is it necessary to affirm that Episcopacy as a form of Church Government is not lawful."[5]

---

[1] See Note P, p. 252.

[2] *Philippians*, p. 93.

The spiritual independence of the Church has been a strand in the fibre of her being from the very beginning. It has been assailed and overborne at times by Kings and Parliaments, but it has never been abandoned, and in point of fact the Church of Scotland enjoys probably a fuller measure of liberty now than ever before, and such as no other national church possesses. " It was the great question," said Dr. Chalmers, " between the James' and the Charles' on the one hand, and the Scottish people on the other who called it Headship of Christ—the term given to the principle when looked to in the religious light. But when looked to constitutionally, it is termed the final jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts or church courts in things sacred as distinct from things civil."[6] In the words of the Westminster Confession approved and ratified by Parliament: "There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ."

---

[3] See Note Q, p. 254.

[4] Wodrow, *History*, i. 15.

[5] *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments*, p. 38.

Melville's conception of the principle of spiritual independence was explained to James, in a manner worthy of Hildebrand at his best, in an interview at Falkland when the relations between the King and the Church were strained. Addressing the King as "God's silly (*i.e.* weak, helpless) vassal," Melville continued: "As divers times before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church whose subject James the sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ had called and commanded to watch over his church, have power and authority from Him to govern His spiritual kingdom both jointly and severally, the which no Christian king or prince should control or discharge, but fortify and assist; otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of His church. . . . Permit us then freely to meet in the name of Christ and to attend to the interests of that church of which you are the chief member."

The theory of two Kings and two Kingdoms in Scotland was no doubt sound enough in itself if only it could be rightly applied, but unfortunately in practice neither Church nor State would refrain from interfering with the concerns of the other. The fair promise of the Church's Charter in 1592 was speedily wrecked through the political harangues of clerical firebrands who had inherited a full measure of Knox' vehemence of language. James had a very delicate problem on hand in dealing with a widespread conspiracy and rebellion in the north on the part of the great Roman Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol and their numerous followers. The rising having been suppressed, he was not disposed to enforce the extreme penalty of the law against papists which would have involved the confiscation of their goods and the banishment or death of a large number of his subjects. For his moderation, which amounted to a refusal to "extirpate popery and idolatry," James was subjected to violent attacks and unmeasured denunciations by some, and probably only a few, of the ministers. The agitation culminated in a fanatical outbreak or riot in Edinburgh which greatly alarmed the King for his personal safety.

---

[6] Hanna's *Memoir*, iv. p. 592.

The situation had become intolerable. James resolved on a change of policy, and decided that the church should be governed by bishops appointed by himself instead of by a General Assembly controlled by others. As he expressed it himself many years later, "To have matters ruled as they have been in your General Assemblies, I will never agree; for the bishops must rule the ministers, and the King, both, in things indifferent, and not repugnant to the Word of God." But other causes were also at work; Elizabeth was advancing in years and James was nervous about his inheritance. Prudence counselled him to make friends with the English clergy and this could best be accomplished by promoting episcopacy. Meanwhile a silent revolution was taking place in the privacy of the royal household which showed that popular fears had not been altogether groundless. Queen Anne forgot her Lutheranism and became a Roman Catholic in 1598. Little was known of this step until she scandalised the English bishops by refusing to take Holy Communion at her coronation in London.

James showed much worldly wisdom in the steps he took to overthrow the constitution of the Church. The General Assembly was removed from Edinburgh to Perth and Dundee, where the clerical extremists had less influence than in the capital. The next move was to enlist the sympathies of the country ministers. The King entertained them royally ; never was monarch so gracious. Those from the north more especially,—always inclined to be critical of Edinburgh circumtabular oligarchies, were duly impressed and espoused the cause of episcopacy. On the invitation of the King, the General Assembly appointed a commission of fourteen members to advise upon ecclesiastical affairs. A few months later these commissioners presented a petition to Parliament, which after some little show of opposition was granted, craving that representatives of the church should be readmitted to Parliament. The matter then came before the General Assembly at Dundee in 1598 and was keenly debated for several days.

The objections to the proposal were no doubt founded on the sharp distinction drawn in the *Second Book of Discipline* between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. " The civil power is called the power of the sword and the other, the power of the keys. . . . And the exercise of both their jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinarily." It is not difficult to believe that the prospect of a seat in Parliament was thought by some of the ministers to be no ordinary occasion. The proposal was contested by others, however, with an amazing display of self-denial and erudition, their opposition being based on numerous passages of Scripture, especially such as 2 Chron. xix. 11, S. Matt. xx. 25, and 2 Tim. ii. 4, and supported by quotations from the ancient Fathers, and of Neotericks and canons of Councils—including Tertullian, Damasus, Primasius, Bernardus, Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, the 80th so-called Apostolical Canon, Fourth Synod (Carthage), and Sixth General Council (Constantinople). The wisdom of the doings and sayings of the Presbyterian Fathers may sometimes be questioned, but their scholarship is undeniable and should command the respect of those who affect to regard them as mere fanatics.

After a plausible declaration by the King that he had no intention to introduce either Popish or Anglican bishops, but only that some of the best and wisest ministers chosen by the General Assembly should have a place in Parliament and Privy Council, and not have to stand at the door like poor suppliants—the General Assembly approved of the proposal by the narrow majority of ten votes. It was agreed that fifty-one ministers, a number equal to that of the former prelates, should represent the Church in Parliament and be known as Commissioners; also, that they should adhere strictly to instructions or "caveats" and report annually to the General Assembly. "Busk, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can," exclaimed one of the ministers alluding to a reference to the Trojan horse, "and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre!"

James having gained his point was too astute to push matters to extremes until he was in a strong enough position to ensure success. His opportunity came after his accession to the throne of England. By the King's command the General Assembly appointed to meet at Aberdeen in 1604 was peremptorily adjourned for a year, and when it met again it was ordered to disperse under threat of horning (outlawry). The ministers, without transacting any business once more agreed to adjourn, and resolved to meet again on a date some months later which had not been appointed by the Crown. For simply adopting this resolution, several of the leaders were committed to prison in Blackness Castle. Brought to trial for holding an unlawful assembly, the ministers declined to recognise the jurisdiction of the court, on the ground that the question was a spiritual matter which should be determined not in a civil but in an ecclesiastical court. They were then charged with treason before the Court of Justiciary, found guilty, and sent to prison during his Majesty's pleasure. Ultimately six of the leaders were deported to France, while the others were banished to Caithness and the Hebrides. By such harsh and unjust proceedings did James assert the supremacy of the crown over the Church.

The next move was of a different nature. Andrew and James Melville and six of their supporters were summoned to London to consult with the King and the English bishops about the affairs of the Church. Various conferences took place at Hampton Court but, as might have been expected, without having the very slightest effect upon anyone's opinions. The ministers had a course of sermons preached to them by eminent bishops on the rights of the episcopate, the supremacy of the crown, and the defects of presbytery. But the Scots at Hampton Court were a hopelessly dour lot and all the episcopal eloquence was expended in vain. It, however, irritated Andrew Melville to such an extent that he wrote some satirical lines in Latin on the furnishings of the Chapel Royal. This was considered an unpardonable offence. The principal of St. Mary's was taken before the English Privy Council, accused by the Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned and sent to the Tower of London. If it were not for the monstrous injustice of the case, it would be perfectly grotesque. The truth is, James feared Andrew Melville, who was by far the ablest churchman of the day, and resolved he should never return to Scotland. He was therefore kept a prisoner in the Tower for three years, and then banished to the Continent. Melville went to Sedan, where he was rewarded with a chair in the University, and there he ended his days in exile (1622). James Melville, his nephew, was forbidden to leave England but the other Scottish clergy were permitted to return home. It can hardly be supposed that they carried away a very favourable impression of English episcopacy.

Again James showed his shrewdness. Instead of calling together the General Assembly which he had virtually suspended, and the leaders of which he had either banished or imprisoned, he invited certain ministers whom he could trust from the various presbyteries to meet at Linlithgow (1607) and take steps for the ever popular object of suppressing "Popery," as well as for "removing of jarres in the Kirk." The steps proposed were that each Presbytery should be presided over by a perpetual moderator, and that the bishops should be the moderators over the presbyteries and synods within the bounds of which they resided ; moreover the moderators were to be rewarded with a present of £100 Scots (about £8 sterling). A reward in the circumstances was thought to be bribery. The serious aspect of the proposal lay not in the mere extension of the period of tenure, but in transforming the character of the office. So long as its tenure was temporary, the presbytery had some control over the moderator, but when the office was held permanently the moderator controlled the presbytery. In effect, from being the servant of the presbytery or synod, the "constant" moderator became the master or "overseer." James' astute scheme, which of course was recognised to be but the first step towards the overthrow of the constitution of the Church, was accepted by the complacent clerics at Linlithgow, but much dissatisfaction was expressed throughout the country.

The next step was to restore consistorial jurisdiction to the bishops, making them judges in cases of marriage and inheritance, and this was followed by the creation of Archiepiscopal Courts of High Commission endowed with unlimited powers to proceed against anyone whom they were pleased to consider either scandalous in life or erroneous in doctrine. The liberties of the people were handed over to these ecclesiastical courts by an arbitrary decree without any authority from Parliament.

It was now clear that James had completely mastered the Church, and that he could risk calling a General Assembly to obtain a formal approval of his scheme. Accordingly the Archbishop of Glasgow convened a carefully selected Assembly which met at Glasgow in 1610. It readily agreed to James' proposal to establish episcopacy as the polity of the church. Amongst other things it was enacted—that the calling of Assemblies belonged to the King; that presentations to benefices were to be directed to the bishop of the diocese who with the assistance of some of the ministers should ordain the presentee after due examination; that every minister should swear obedience to the King and to his bishop; that bishops, personally or by deputy, should be moderators of synods and the "exercises" as presbyteries, *minus* the elders, were to be designated; and that bishops should be subject to censure by the General Assembly and, with the King's consent, be deprived if necessary.[7] Once again the sinister jingle of money is heard. The Lord High Commissioner had £5000 to distribute, but whether to buy votes, or defray travelling expenses, or to pay moderators' salaries is disputed. Both parties in the Church, one seriously and the other ironically, however agreed in calling it "the Golden Glasgow Assembly."

There was still however a fly in the ointment; only the king can make a lord, but it is only the Church that can make a bishop; and the English bishops refused to recognise the new bishops of the Scottish Church, exactly as the Roman bishops refused to recognise the new bishops of the English Church. It was necessary, they said, that the Scottish bishops should be "consecrated" by three of the English bishops so as to preserve the continuity of the "historic episcopate." Accordingly the Archbishop of Glasgow (Spottiswoode) and the Bishops of Brechin (Lamb) and Galloway (Hamilton) went to London and were consecrated bishops by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York refrained from performing the ceremony lest ancient claims to jurisdiction over the Scottish Church should be revived.

---

[7] The Resolutions *in extenso* will be found among the Rescinded Acts in Peterkin's *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.*

The consecration of the Scottish bishops has raised several questions of much interest, the importance of which however is sometimes exaggerated. The ministers who were presbyters of the Scottish Church were raised to the episcopate without being made presbyters of the English Church. The Bishop of Ely (Andrews) said they ought to be ordained presbyters first, but the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft) overruled him on the grounds that " when bishops were not to be had, ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed valid, otherwise it might be doubted whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches. He further mentioned that there was no necessity for the Scottish prelates passing through the intermediate orders of priest and deacon because the episcopal character could be given by one consecration as was shown by several examples in the ancient church." [8] The three bishops now fully equipped with the orders of the Church of England returned to Scotland and proceeded to " consecrate " other bishops. A couple of years later (1612) the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly were ratified by Parliament when the Church's Charter of 1592 was formally annulled.

If those who still remained faithful to the Pope expected that episcopacy would regard them with a more tolerant eye than presbytery they were doomed to disappointment. On the contrary the French nuncio reported that religious persecution now reached its climax.[9] Even during the most intolerant days of Melville (1596) Monseignor Malvasia, Papal Agent at Brussels, reported that priests "would be free to travel and exercise their ministry, without that risk of torture and atrocious death which they would incur in England." Scotland was now to follow the bad example of England. In 1615 a Jesuit missionary, John Ogilvie, was discovered and apprehended by Archbishop Spottiswoode for resolving to seduce His Majesty's subjects by auricular confessions and mass saying. His trial recalls that of George Wishart before Cardinal Beaton in its brutal injustice. "Striking him a blow before the whole assembly the prelate exclaimed; 'you are an over-insolent fellow to say your masses in a reformed city.' Father Ogilvie calmly replied; 'you do not act like a bishop, but like an executioner in striking me,' an answer which only had the effect of provoking fresh outrages and insults from his brutal captors."[10] After being subjected to torture, Ogilvie was entrapped into an argument as to the power of the Pope to depose kings and finally he was condemned and hung at Glasgow,—nominally for high treason, actually for his opinions, and all on account of his being a Jesuit and saying mass.[1]

---

[8] Grub, ii. 296-7.

Though episcopacy had now been fully established in the Church of Scotland no change was made in the manner of conducting public worship, and this circumstance no doubt accounts in large measure for the apparent acquiescence of the country in the new form of church government. So long as their accustomed ways of worship were not interfered with it did not greatly perturb the people how the business of the church was conducted. James now decided to make certain changes and put forward five articles. These prescribed : (1) Kneeling when receiving Holy Communion ; (2) Private Communion for the Sick ; (3) Private Baptism in case of necessity ; (4) Observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost ; and (5) Confirmation of Children. After being rejected by the General Assembly at St. Andrews, the articles were adopted, not without "vehement contention," the following year (1618) at Perth, where James had on a former occasion succeeded in overcoming clerical opposition.

---

[9] Bellesheim, iii. 404. [10] Bellesheim, iii. 415.

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 332.

There is reason to believe that the opposition in this as in previous disputes with the King was founded not so much upon the particular matters specified as upon what they signified—which was the subjection of the Scottish Church to the pattern of the English Church. This was protested against not so much out of any patriotic sentiment of Scottish independence, as because it was firmly held that episcopacy was lacking in divine authority. Since then private baptism has become too common ; private communion is given to the sick when desired ; the five great commemorations are more or less generally observed ; and confirmation is usually given in all but name by the minister before first communion.[2] Kneeling when receiving Holy Communion alone of all the five articles of Perth would be generally and strenuously opposed to-day.[3] It was always easier in Scotland to get laws enacted than to get them obeyed, and it was thus with these articles, which were duly ratified by the Privy Council. The tradesmen refused to close their shops on Christmas or Good Friday ; and when any minister insisted upon communicants kneeling, which was seldom the case, the elders and people absented themselves in a body and went to other churches.

---

[2] See Note R, p. 254

[3] See Note S, p. 255.

Charles I. ascended the throne in 1625. To a firm belief in the divine right of kings he added an absolute assurance of the divine right of episcopacy, but lacking his father's shrewdness and political opportunism he rode his principles literally and tragically to death. His first measure intended to benefit the Church aroused the greatest concern among his most influential subjects, and did much to prepare the way for his later misfortunes. Charles resolved to recover the property of the Church which had been alienated during the two previous reigns and by an " Act of Revocation " titulars and lords of erection were called upon to surrender their grants. Prolonged negotiations followed and ultimately in 1633 Parliament enacted the terms upon which the lands and teinds should be retained. The latter were commuted for one fifth of the rental, and out of this sum the stipends to be paid to the parish ministers were fixed by Commissioners—now represented by the Court of Teinds. In rather more than one half of the old parishes the minister gets all the teinds, but in the remainder the proprietor, either Crown, titular, or heritor, still retains a proportion of the " spiritualities," out of which the Court may grant an augmentation of stipend to the minister as circumstances warrant.

One other measure of Charles must be placed to his credit. We have seen how John Knox' scheme of having a school in every parish was thwarted by the robbery of the Church. The result was deplorable ; education was not merely neglected, in country parishes it was simply non-existent. An Act of Council in 1616 tried in vain to remedy matters. Charles' Parliament in 1633 ratified the Act, and parish schools, which have proved of such inestimable value to succeeding generations began to be established. After the restoration of presbytery, landed proprietors were compelled to provide a school in every parish.

It was not till 1633 that Charles, accompanied by Laud, then Bishop of London, visited Scotland. He was crowned at Holyrood with much pomp and ceremony by the Archbishop of St. Andrews assisted by other prelates, Laud acting, in the background, as master of ceremonies. On the first Sunday the King went to S. Giles', when the English Church Service was rendered by two chaplains from England, and the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Moray, who wore episcopal robes. On the occasion of his visit Charles created the bishopric of Edinburgh, representing the former archdeaconry of Lothian, and appointed S. Giles' to be the cathedral church.

Charles was probably not far wrong in thinking that the services of the church might with advantage be considerably improved, but he set about doing the right thing in the wrong way. Instead of acting in concert with those most vitally concerned—the Christian people and clergy of Scotland—he ignored them altogether, and thus provoked a collision which resulted in the overthrow of episcopacy in the Church, and a revolution in the State. By royal warrant alone he ordained in 1636 a series of nineteen canons, which if they had ever been put in operation would have entirely altered the worship and government of the Church. Anyone, it was decreed, who affirmed aught against the royal supremacy or the English Church Prayer Book was to be excommunicated ; public worship was to be conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer in place of John Knox' Liturgy ; a new order of preaching deacons was instituted ; the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated four times every year at a comely and decent Table to be placed at the upper end of the church or chancel ; no minister or reader was to be permitted to offer "conceived" or extempore prayer under pain of deprivation. Such were some of Charles's ecclesiastical canons.[4]

The following year a new liturgy was issued by royal authority. To all intents and purposes it was a Scottish edition of the English Church Prayer Book, and, though the work of the Bishops of Ross (Maxwell) and Dunblane (Wedderburn), it is generally known as Laud's Liturgy. On Sunday, 23rd July, 1637, it was arranged that the new book should be introduced in all the Edinburgh churches. In S. Giles the Reader conducted the preliminary service as was customary, reading the prayers out of Knox' Liturgy. Closing his book he said: "Adieu, good people, for I think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place." An imposing procession then entered the newly created cathedral to mark the importance of the occasion ; it included the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Archbishop of Glasgow and several bishops, Lords of the Privy Council, judges and magistrates. Dean Hanna, arrayed in a white surplice, read the service from the reading-desk, but had

[4] Grub, ii. 362-7.

not proceeded far when the pent-up indignation of the people found vent in audible expression. At this point tradition affirms that Jenny Geddes, a stallwoman, cried, "Out, thou false thief! dost thou say mass at my lug?" and threw a stool at the Dean's head. The uproar which followed echoed and re-echoed throughout all Scotland, until the whole episcopal system was swept away.

Those who see nothing in this scene but an unseemly and discreditable brawl in church miss the meaning of history. They are like those to whom "a primrose by the river's brim" is but "a yellow primrose." Jenny Geddes throwing her stool at the Dean's head symbolised national sentiment as truly and as vividly as any cartoon of Partridge or Raemaekers. Dean Hanna robed in his white surplice standing in the pulpit of S. Giles' signified the triumph of English protestant episcopacy in the citadel of the Scottish Church. Its arrogant pretensions were regarded with scorn by the learned and with hatred by the people. They saw the enactments of Parliament and the General Assembly overturned by underhand methods and arbitrary decrees, and foreign institutions imposed upon them against their will. The indignation of Jenny Geddes was that which every honest and patriotic soul feels when might overcomes right. It is no mere rowdy market-woman that churchmen hold in honour to-day, but one who at a supreme moment in the nation's history more truly represented Scottish sentiment than the time-serving dignitaries of Church and State in S. Giles'. Jenny Geddes was true to herself; the others were false.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COVENANTS

THE whole country was united to an extraordinary degree in the determination to overthrow episcopacy and to restore the General Assembly to its place and power in the Church. Crowds flocked to the capital, and the direction of operations was entrusted to four committees representing respectively the nobles, barons or lairds, clergy, and burgesses. The committees were called "The Tables" because they sat at four different tables in the Parliament House. The master-minds of the movement at this stage were Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, and Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, an advocate. To organise their forces recourse was had to the old expedient of forming a Band or Covenant, under which all who joined pledged themselves to united action in order to attain the objects in view. The "National Covenant" is a document of inordinate length and great legal complexity, extending to more than 4000 words or about equal to 13 of these printed pages; anything less like a present-day manifesto it would be difficult to imagine, yet in spite of its defects it achieved a phenomenal success. Apart from the circumstance of the time, this was due in large measure to the deeply religious tone of the whole document and to the high-sounding legal phraseology in which it was drafted. It was more than a mutual agreement; it was a solemn vow. The Covenanters fully intended to join themselves and the whole nation unto the Lord in a perpetual covenant that should not be forgotten.

The National Covenant begins with the repetition of the "Negative" Confession of 1580 condemning Romish errors, followed by a recital of numerous Acts of Parliament establishing the reformed faith and church government, and concluding with the covenant proper, which runs in the names of Nobles, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers and Commons. "We promise and swear," it proceeds, "By the Great Name of the Lord Our God . . ., that we shall to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereign the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the aforesaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the Kingdom."

After a solemn fast the National Covenant was read in Greyfriar's Church, Edinburgh, on 28th February, 1638, when the Earl of Sutherland, followed by other nobles and barons, signed the parchment roll on which it was inscribed. The following day the Covenant was subscribed by the ministers and commissioners of burghs, and the next day by the general public.[1]

Such was the impression produced that Archbishop Spottiswoode exclaimed: "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is thrown down at once!" Copies of the Covenant were sent to all parts of the country, and it was received with intense enthusiasm. Some signed with blood drawn from their veins, others added "till death," while late comers only found space on the parchment for their initials. "Surely it is a striking thing," said Principal Rainy, "that what so united the nation was a resolution that God's authority, discerned by themselves in His Word, that and nothing else, should set up institutions in their Church. That principle was written then on the fibre of the Scottish people in a manner that is legible yet."[2]

---

[1] Dr. D. Hay Fleming has disproved the popular legend of the signing of the Covenant on a tombstone in the churchyard. See Bryce's *Old Greyfriars*.

There was, however, a small but respectable minority who were opposed to the Covenant. It was led by the "Aberdeen doctors," as they were called—men noted for their learning and moderation. Dr. John Forbes refused to sign the Covenant and was in consequence deposed from the chair of Divinity in the University. In "a peaceable warning" which he published he endeavoured "to shew that the Negative Confession of Craig had ceased to be binding on Church or State, and that its renewal was not expedient."[3] But the "warning" went unheeded, and so unmistakably was the country roused and united, that Charles was compelled to call a meeting of the General Assembly, which accordingly met in Glasgow Cathedral on 21st November, 1638. It was a most representative and influential body, and consisted of 140 ministers and 98 elders, including the Earl, afterwards Marquis, of Montrose, 16 other peers, 9 knights, 25 lairds, and Provosts or Bailies of Linlithgow, Stirling, Peebles, Kirkcudbright, Irvine, Rothesay, Dunbarton, Glasgow, Lanark, Dunfermline, Culross, Dundee, Forfar, Montrose, Brechin,

---

[2] *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, p. 78.

[3] Grub, iii. 8.

Forres, Inverness, and Tain. Alexander Henderson was chosen Moderator and Johnstone of Warriston was appointed clerk.[4] At an early stage in the proceedings the Lord High Commissioner—the Marquis of Hamilton—pronounced the dissolution of the Assembly and withdrew, but the Assembly declined the dissolve until it had transacted the business for which it had met. The following day the Earl of Argyll, who had hitherto maintained a neutral attitude, threw in his lot with the Covenanters. Every Assembly subsequent to that of 1602 was declared unlawful and of none effect ; the Book of Common Prayer, the Canons, the Court of High Commission, and the Five Articles of Perth were condemned ; all the bishops were deposed and eight of them excommunicated. The overthrow of episcopacy thus accomplished was the more remarkable when regard is had to the large majority of ministers present, many of whom must have been ordained during the twenty-eight years of episcopal rule. Four of the bishops afterwards became parish ministers.

The General Assembly had clearly defied the King and another crisis speedily developed. Both sides collected armed forces which moved towards the Border, the Covenanters encamping on Duns Law while Charles and his English troops took up a position across the Tweed. A brave show did the Scots army make. "Every company," writes Baillie, "had fleeing at the captain's tent-door a new colour stamped with the Scottish arms and this motto—For Christ's Crown and Covenant, in golden letters. . . . Had you lent your ear in the morning, and especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading the Scripture ye would have been refreshed. True," he adds with characteristic candour, " there was swearing and cursing and brawling in some quarters whereat we were grieved."[5] But neither side was eager for bloodshed and the dispute was settled by Charles agreeing to call another meeting of the General Assembly and also of Parliament. Thus the matter was decided, it was said, neither by canon nor civil law but by Duns Law.

---

[4] Peterkin's *Records*, i. 109.

Accordingly the General Assembly met again on 12th August, 1639, in Edinburgh, when all the Acts passed at Glasgow were re-enacted, and sanctioned by the Earl of Traquair as Lord High Commissioner. Parliament met immediately thereafter—for the first time in the then new but now familiar—Parliament House. A difficulty at once presented itself when the royal assent was required to the Assembly's finding that episcopacy was " unlawful in this kirk." If it was " unlawful " in the Scottish Church, Charles feared it might be considered " unlawful " in the English Church, and Parliament was adjourned and prorogued without anything being definitely settled. It was not until two years later (1641) that the royal assent was given by Charles himself in Parliament.

The Covenanters had now obtained all that they set themselves to accomplish. Episcopacy had been abolished, and the liberties of the Church and General Assembly had been fully established. It would have been well for them and for Scotland if they had rested content with their success and confined themselves to their own affairs. Unfortunately they were soon to allow themselves to be drawn into a great adventure which was to result in a prolonged period of civil and religious strife.

---

[5] Baillie's *Letters*, i. 211.

The relations between Charles and his Parliament across the Border were meanwhile becoming daily more critical, and the attitude of Scotland once again became a matter of importance to England. The King had, as we have seen, completely satisfied all Scottish demands, but he had as completely failed to restore confidence. The English Parliament now took advantage of the prevailing distrust to secure the support of Scotland in the impending contest. The manner in which this was done was remarkable. A document entitled a "Declaration of the Parliament of England" was sent to the "National Assembly of the Church of Scotland," and was received by the latter at St. Andrews in July, 1642. It professed an earnest desire to avoid civil war, and "such a reformation of the Church (of England) as shall be most agreeable to God's Word. Out of which there will also most undoubtedly result a most firm and stable union between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland."

Here indeed was an extraordinary situation—Caesar in the guise of the Mother of Parliaments coming to the General Assembly of the True and Holy Kirk in quest of a political alliance and holding out the bait of the overthrow of prelacy in England. It says much for the political acumen of the English parliamentarians that they offered no tangible inducements ; and it shows the highly idealistic temperament of the Scots notwithstanding all that is said of their alleged hard-headedness and canniness, that on their part they sought no commercial or political compensation, but on the contrary were more than satisfied with the prospect of a missionary success from which they could reap no selfish or material advantage. The great Marquis of Montrose alone seems to have realised the folly of the Church embarking on a project so clearly outwith its spiritual function and national sphere. Led by his rival—the Marquis of Argyll—the General Assembly was lured into an attack upon the citadel of prelacy in the Church of England. It sent a lengthy reply which stated—regardless of grammar: "The Assembly doth confidently expect that England will now bestir themselves in the best way for a reformation of religion, and do most willingly offer their prayers and utmost endeavours for furthering so great a work."

With this assurance from the General Assembly, the English Parliament "bestirred themselves" so effectually that within a month the King was forced to raise his standard at Nottingham (22nd August, 1642). The following year a deputation from both Houses of the Parliament of England came to Edinburgh bearing a communication addressed to Parliament and to the General Assembly proposing, "that both nations should enter into a strict union and league." After due consideration the Solemn League and Covenant was drafted and approved by the General Assembly and by Parliament. It is a much shorter document than the National Covenant, being about one third of its length. These two covenants are often confused, but there is an important difference between them. The National Covenant was a purely Scottish affair, while the Solemn League and Covenant was an international treaty which aimed not only at the preservation of the Church of Scotland, which no one was then attacking, but also of the reformation of the Church of England, and the extirpation of popery and prelacy in both kingdoms. The English Parliament had desired a purely civil league, but the General Assembly insisted upon a religious covenant. The divergent views were blended and expressed in the title of the agreement ; it was a league—yes, but a solemn one and a covenant. In England the League was considered to have come to a natural end when its immediate object was achieved. Not so in Scotland, where it was regarded as nothing less than an enduring covenant with the Almighty, interminable except by downright apostacy. Both Argyll and James Guthrie, when on the scaffold awaiting death, proclaimed in the most uncompromising terms the unchangeable obligations of the Covenants on the nation in all time coming. The National Covenant had embodied this idea, which was expressed thus : " And finally, being convinced in our minds, and confessing with our mouths, that the present and succeeding generations in this land are bound to keep the foresaid national oath and subscription inviolable." The English Commissioners took good care to see that no such clause was inserted in the Solemn League. There is something pathetic in the simple faith of the earnest-minded Scots who persuaded themselves that they were entering into a legal contract or treaty with the Almighty and could bind unborn generations under appalling penalties. The divergence of view was made manifest at the Restoration. In England the outed ministers became known by the negative name of " non-conformist," while in Scotland such ministers were called by the positive name of " covenanters."

S. Margaret's Church, Westminster, presented a strange sight on 25th September, 1643, when the House of Commons and Assembly of Divines met within its walls to join the Solemn League. After a prayer which lasted nearly an hour and two lengthy discourses, a contemporary chronicler records, "the Covenant was read and then notice was given, that each person should immediately, by swearing thereunto, worship the great Name of God and testify to such outwardly by lifting up their hands: and then went up into the chancel, and there subscribed their names in a roll of parchment in which this Covenant was fairly written."[6] Some days later a similar scene was enacted in the same church by the House of Lords.

The Assembly referred to, or, as we should now call it—a Royal Commission—had been appointed by the Long Parliament in defiance of the King to consider the reformation of the Church. To this body, consisting of 121 divines and 30 lay assessors, were added four of the Scottish clergy, viz. Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie and two elders, viz. Lord Maitland, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, and Johnstone of Warriston, with the object of securing if possible uniformity in religion throughout the King's dominions. The difficulties facing the Scots were enormous, but with a good cause and able pleading they won the day, and in five years (1648) the Church of England was established on a presbyterian basis by Act of Parliament—a position it retained till 1660, when Charles II. restored episcopacy.[7]

The Westminster Assembly sat from 1643 to 1648 and produced the following works, viz. (1) The Directory of

---

[6] Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, v. 475.

[7] For an interesting account of Presbyterianism in England see Rev. W. M. Macphail's *The Presbyterian Church*, p. 225.

Public Worship ; (2) The Form of Church Government ; (3) The Confession of Faith ; and (4) The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, all of which were adopted by the General Assembly, after a few slight modifications, not because of any dissatisfaction with the old standards, but simply for the sake of uniformity with the Church of England. These documents have become the standard of presbyterian churches throughout the world, and it is a remarkable fact that almost all the divines who produced them had been ordained by bishops.[8]

The Confession of Faith was accepted by the General Assembly as " most agreeable to the Word of God and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline and government of this Kirk." It is an elaborate treatise consisting of thirty-three chapters and covers the whole range of theology. The doctrinal system is based upon the theory of the verbal inspiration of the Bible and upon its exclusive authority in matters of faith and morals. It follows to a large extent the Articles of the Irish Episcopal Church of 1615, and it combines the catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity with the evangelical doctrines of sin and grace on the lines expounded by S. Augustine and Calvin. But its elaboration of matters of secondary importance, and dogmatism in matters of doubtful probability have given rise to much adverse criticism. That is, however, merely to say that it is a human composition, and that we are not now living in the religious or intellectual atmosphere of the seventeenth century.

---

[8] George Gillespie was ordained by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy on 26th April, 1638, before the abolition of episcopacy, though the preliminary steps were taken by the Archbishop of St. Andrews (Spottiswoode). See Stevenson's *Presbyterie Booke of Kirkcaldie*, pp. 122, 127, and 129.

The Directory adhered in large measure to the general arrangement of public worship laid down in Knox' Liturgy which it superseded rather by implication than by express enactment. All forms of prayer were, however, omitted as well as the sections relating to Discipline. Very full directions are given as to the subjects for prayer. The congregation are instructed to assemble in a grave and seemly manner without bowing towards any place, to abstain from whispering, and not to salute anyone entering. Those coming in late are not to betake themselves to their private devotions, but are to join with the assembly in the Ordinance of God then in hand. "The minister after solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great name of God is to begin with prayer." Then follow lessons from both Testaments, Psalm, Prayer, Sermon, Prayer, Lord's Prayer, Psalm and finally the minister dismisses the congregation with a solemn Blessing. These directions concerning public worship should be read with the Confession of Faith, Chap. I., sect. 6, which states that "there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God, and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed."

Prelacy had now been abolished in both kingdoms and uniformity in religion obtained in theory at any rate, but the anticipated firm and durable peace proved a "will o' the wisp." It disappeared altogether on 30th January, 1649, in Whitehall, when the Parliament of England executed the King of Scotland. As soon as the news reached Edinburgh Charles II. was proclaimed, and when the General Assembly met it adopted an address to the King protesting—" we do from our hearts abominate and detest that horrid fact of the Sectaries against the life of your royal father our late Sovereign." Commissioners were sent to the Hague where Charles was residing to offer him the Crown, but Argyll and his friends made it a condition that he should subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant.

The King hesitated long, then sent the gallant Montrose with a handful of foreign troops to raise the country against Argyll and the Solemn League. Landing in Orkney Montrose crossed the Pentland Firth and marched south. Disaster overtook him at Carbisdale near Culrain (27th April, 1650). The well-known story of his flight, betrayal, trial, and execution is a melancholy one which it is unnecessary to retell here. It is sometimes thought that Montrose changed sides and forsook the Covenant, but the change was not in him; the change was in the Covenanters who, not resting satisfied with the triumph of the National Covenant adopted the Solemn League with England. " I engaged in the first Covenant," he said at his trial, " and was faithful unto it, until I perceived some private persons, under colour of religion, intended to wring the authority from the King and to seize on it for themselves. For the League and Covenant, I thank God I was never in it and so could not break it; but how far religion hath been advanced by it and the sad consequences that have followed on it these poor distressed kingdoms can witness."[9] With the defeat and death of Montrose, Argyll's triumph was complete. Nothing now remained for Charles but to submit. He landed at Garmouth on the Moray Firth and swore eternal fidelity to both Covenants.

---

[9] M. Napier, *Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. ii. p. 580.

On 1st January, 1651, Charles, not yet twenty-one years of age, was crowned in the Kirk of Scone. After a sermon by the Moderator on the text 2 Kings xi. 12, 17—the King on bended knee and with uplifted hand took a solemn oath to observe the Covenant and did subscribe his name thereto upon a fair parchment. These preliminaries accomplished he then ascended the stage and having sat down on the chair of state was duly presented to the people by Lyon King of Arms, the Great Constable, the Earl Marischal, and other lords at each of the four corners of the stage, and the people cried, "God save the King." Charles having taken the coronation oath was then invested with his royal robes, and the sword having been taken from the Table was presented by the Great Constable saying: "Sir, receive this kingly sword, for the defence of the faith of Christ, and protection of His Kirk, and of the true religion, as it is presently professed within this Kingdom, and according to the National Covenant and League and Covenant." The sword having been girt on His Majesty, the Earl Marischal put on the spurs and then after prayer, Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, put the Crown on the King's head. The nobles and people having sworn fealty, the sceptre was delivered by the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, and the nobles, now wearing their coronets, conducted the King to the royal throne where he was installed by the Marquis of Argyll. Then followed an exhortation by the Moderator, a proclamation of free pardons, the showing of the King to his people outside the church, the homage of the lords, the solemn blessing of the King, another exhortation, the singing of Psalm xx., and the Benediction. "Then did the King's Majesty," records the Moderator, "descend from the stage with the crown upon his head; and receiving again the sceptre in his hand, returned with the whole train, in a solemn manner to his palace, the sword being carried before him."[10] With such pomp and ceremony did the Covenanters celebrate the coronation of Charles II. in the Kirk of Scone.

Ere the year, begun so auspiciously, came to an end, the King, defeated at Worcester on 3rd September, was a fugitive leaving Cromwell the "Protector" of his three kingdoms. In Scotland the Church was becoming rent by internecine strife. It would be intolerably tedious to do more than to summarise as briefly as possible the quarrels of the contending parties. The first rift in the lute had taken place in 1647 when Charles I. entered into an engagement with Parliament to give the Solemn League a provisional trial and to establish presbytery in England for three years. In return for this promise the Duke of Hamilton raised an armed force which went to the assistance of the King in England. Those who approved of these proceedings were called "Engagers," but the opposition or "Remonstrants," led by Argyll, were the popular party, and Parliament was induced to pass the Act of Classes by which all classes of Engagers were deprived of every kind of office. By this measure a large number of ministers were deposed, or as Kirkton puts it—"the ministry was notably purified." "Engagers" who were regarded as "Malignants," a term hitherto applied to the episcopalian party, were even purged out of the army with disastrous results at the battle of Dunbar. The "Remonstrants" distrusted Charles II.'s professions and his *entourage* of "Malignants" and addressed a Remonstrance to Parliament. Then Middleton, lately one of Montrose's lieutenants, tried to unite the country in her hour of peril, "Religion, King and country," he wrote, "are at hazard. I beseech you to endeavour unity." He pleaded not altogether in vain; the Act of Classes was repealed. Those who responded to his appeal were called "Resolutioners"; and again the moderate party were strongly opposed by the extreme party now called "Protesters." In some instances Protestors and Resolutioners met in separate presbyteries and a serious schism was threatened.

---

[10] *The Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. reprinted in the Covenants and Covenanters*, by Dr. James Kerr. Special features of the ceremony were the crowning and enthroning by a layman, and the omission of anointing with oil and Holy Communion. See also Prof. James Cooper's *Four Scottish Coronations.*

It was in some respects fortunate that while the Church was distracted by such internal conflict, Cromwell appeared on the scene and, through one of his officers, turned the General Assembly out of doors and put a stop to its proceedings (1653), much in the same manner as was done to the Long Parliament in England.

Cromwell proved to be the apostle to Scotland of toleration. He came with quite a collection of religious novelties in his train. To Protestant Episcopacy which had already come from across the Border there were now added the doctrines of Independents, Baptists, Brownists, Quakers, and others. English colonels and soldiers preached and prayed by the hour without any "lawful calling." Hitherto there had been but a simple three-cornered contest between three systems, viz. Roman, Presbyterian, and Episcopal, each claiming an exclusive divine right and each anathematising the others in the most uncompromising manner. Toleration of each other was the last thing that any of them would have tolerated. Samuel hewing Agag in pieces was then the *beau ideal* of the church militant. But now the invasion of English Sectaries was creating a new situation; Agag was becoming too numerous. The words Cromwell addressed to the General Assembly from Musselburgh struck a new chord, the echoes of which vibrate to this day. "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ," he wrote, "think it possible that you may be mistaken."[1]

The influence of the English Puritans in Scotland resulted in a modification of the worship of the Church. It increased the reaction which ensued after the overthrow of episcopacy, and manifested itself in the destruction of such works of art as had escaped the violence of former days. English innovations appealed to popular taste in an unaccountable manner, and Presbyteries fulminated against them in vain. Baillie, afterwards Principal of Glasgow University, records with unconcealed admiration how the English clergy spent a day at the Westminster Assembly. "Mr Marshall prayed large two hours . . . Mr Arrowsmith preached an hour . . . Mr Vim prayed near two hours . . . Mr Palmer preached an hour . . . Mr Seaman prayed near two hours." Altogether they "spent from nine to five very graciously," so at least it appeared to Baillie, who however on another occasion pathetically confessed, "their longsomeness is woful." The new fashions took Scotland by storm. "The chief changes made during the period" *i.e.* immediately following the adoption of the Westminster Directory, writes Dr. G. W. Sprott,[2] "were the discontinuance of daily service, of private devotion on entering church, of read prayers, of the reading of Holy Scripture, of the *Gloria*, of taking up the offertory during Divine Service, and the growing disuse of the Lord's Prayer, while ministers were required to give two lectures as well as two sermons every Sunday, besides preaching on one day and catechising on another during the week."

---

[1] Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iii. 22.

A new metrical version of the Psalms by Francis Rous, afterwards Provost of Eton College, was, with some additions, approved by the General Assembly in 1650; and by a curious contradiction of history the work of this eminent Etonian has become known all over the world as the "Scotch Psalms," while the old Scottish version which they superseded has passed into oblivion. With the new version also came from England the fashion of singing generally known as "reading the line" or "lining out." The clerk or precentor, owing to the scarcity of books and backward state of education there, read or intoned each line separately which was then repeated to the tune by the congregation somewhat antiphonally. This method proved extraordinarily popular in Scotland; it only disappeared towards the middle of the last century in the Lowlands, but it still holds sway in Gaelic services in the Highlands.

During this period of London fashion, the Lord's Supper was deplorably neglected, and even in important centres years elapsed within a celebration. One result was that when the opportunity presented itself, great crowds from far and near gathered together to partake of the Sacrament, services were multiplied, and Sacramental Fast-days were instituted. No doubt all who flocked to these Holy Fairs were not animated by the highest motives ; but it cannot be doubted that the Communion season, when it did take place, created a profound religious impression and fostered a fervent, if somewhat self-centred and stern type of piety.

---

[2] *The Worship of the Church during the Covenanting Period*, p. 31.

Renewed efforts were made during this period to increase the efficiency of church discipline. The General Assembly in 1648 ordered that every elder should have a district assigned to him and visit it at least once a month for the purpose of reporting what scandals and abuses existed. Elders were thus constituted into a moral detective force. Public houses were watched to see that they closed at elder's hours, and that none frequented them during church hours on Sunday. Zealous elders hunted out the non-churchgoer and the Sabbath-breaker. A curious arrangement was frequently made of having one of the elders appointed a magistrate, so that when anyone was found guilty of certain moral offences, the Session-bailie, as he was called, could impose a fine to be devoted to pious uses. If anyone was slandered and accused falsely of an offence, he might appear before the Kirk-Session and solemnly declare his innocency by taking an awful and terrible oath of purgation.

Ministers and elders, however censorious towards their people, did not spare one another but held privy censures —not unusually before a meeting of Synod or a celebration of the Lord's Supper. On such occasions considerable frankness and plainness of speech was sometimes indulged in, but the inconvenience was great and led ultimately to expressions of mutual admiration, after which all interest in the proceedings died out, and privy censures were abandoned.[3]

Public confession and admonition stood the test of time for a period of no less than two hundred and fifty years, and only fell into desuetude in the beginning of the last century. The sensitive and truly penitent found it an intolerable humiliation, others faced the ordeal with brazen hypocrisy, fools made a mock of sin, and at the best it was painful to all. Though the method and manner of its exercise has changed with the times, discipline is still regarded in Scotland as an essential feature of the Christian Church.

While breaches of the seventh commandment, sabbath-breaking, profanity, quarrelling, and drunkenness were the most frequent subjects of church discipline, mention must also be made of cases of witchcraft. Scotland probably suffered less than any other country in Europe from misguided attempts to enforce the command—"Those shalt not suffer a witch to live"; but even so, the attempts have left a darker stain upon its history than ever Cardinal Beaton caused. Proceedings against supposed witches usually commenced in Kirk-Sessions, and their trial was conducted by commissioners (civil magistrates) appointed for the purpose by the Privy Council. In many cases the most terrible tortures were inflicted in order to extort confessions, and the cruel death at the stake was not always the worst suffering endured by the half-demented victims. The Privy Council enacted in 1624 that the bishops should revise informations; but the right of veto seems to have been but little exercised, for the persecution of supposed witches went on unabated. In 1643, the year of the Solemn League and Covenant, an evil panic seized upon Fifeshire, and in the course of a few weeks over thirty persons were burnt. It was not until the year 1736 that the penal laws against witchcraft were repealed.

---

[3] See Note T, p. 255.

CHAPTER IX

A REIGN OF TERROR

The Commonwealth was obviously tottering to its fall after the death of Oliver Cromwell, and with the prospect of the return of Charles II. it was apparent that critical times were in store for the Church. James Sharp, minister of Crail and Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews, had so far won the confidence of the leading ministers that they commissioned him to proceed to London to watch over the interests of the Church. On 29th May, 1660, Charles II. entered London in triumph, but in no part of his dominions was his return more joyfully celebrated than in his kingdom of Scotland. Sharp soon perceived in the delirious reaction from stern puritanism which the presence of royalty brought about, a sure sign that England would repudiate the Solemn League and that episcopacy would regain its lost position. He even foresaw danger to the Church of Scotland but wrote to his friends, " I shall not be accessory to anything prejudicial to the presbyterian government." The King gave him a letter for the Presbytery of Edinburgh which he presented to that court on 3rd September. It stated: " We do resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law, without violation." This assurance created the liveliest satisfaction throughout the country. Within four months Charles' first parliament met and straightway proceeded to violate his promised protection and preservation by overturning the government of the Church. The "Merrie Monarch's" parliament behaved itself in such a convivial manner that it became known as the "Drunken Parliament." It fulminated against popery and "trafficking papists." Anyone saying mass was to remove out of the kingdom under pain of death. An odious enactment directed that children of popish parents were to be taken from them and committed for their education to the care of protestants by order of the Privy Council. The royal supremacy *in all causes* was established, the Covenants were condemned as treasonable, and Presbyterian government was abolished by a Rescissory Act which annulled all parliaments and legislation subsequent to the year 1633.

Episcopacy was re-established on 6th September, 1661, after Parliament has risen, by the Privy Council acting on the King's instructions. The proclamation was made in Edinburgh at the Cross "with great solemnity by the Lion King-at-Arms with all the trumpets, and magistrates of Edinburgh in their robes." In the most unblushing manner it recalled the King's promise "to maintain the Government of the Church of Scotland settled by law" and then threw the responsibility of overturning it upon Parliament. It went on to announce the royal pleasure to restore to the Church its right government by bishops for the glory of God and for its better harmony with the churches of England and Ireland.

Sinister events had taken place even while Parliament was sitting which presaged the troubled times lying ahead. The Marquis of Argyll had been among those who went to London to welcome the King on his return, but he was immediately arrested and sent to the Tower. Transferred to Edinburgh Castle, he was brought to the bar of Parliament and accused of High Treason. His condemnation followed as a matter of course. "I had the honour," he said on receiving sentence of death, "to set the crown on the King's head, and now he hastens me away to a better crown than his own." While opinions differ much in regard to the part he played in public life, all agree as to the moral dignity of his death. "I could die like a Roman," he said on his way to the scaffold, "but I choose rather to die like a Christian." Argyll was executed by the guillotine known as "the Maiden" on 27th May.

James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, was hanged four days later. He was a man of heroic character; a Royalist and Covenanter of an extreme type, maintaining the rights of the King in the face of Cromwell's officers, and the sanctity of the Covenants in the face of Charles' officers. Samuel Rutherford, scholar and saint, would probably have suffered the same fate had not illness and death overtaken him. Johnstone of Warriston escaped to the Continent, but was brought back and executed a couple of years later.

James Sharp proved an unprincipled time-server. Sent to London to safeguard the presbyterian government of the Church, he betrayed his trust and was rewarded with the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. Three other ministers were also made bishops at the same time, viz. Robert Leighton, Principal of Edinburgh University, who became Bishop of Dunblane; Andrew

Fairfowl, minister of Duns—Archbishop of Glasgow; and James Hamilton, minister of Cambusnethan—Bishop of Galloway. The two latter had been ordained during the episcopal period, but Leighton and Sharp had been ordained merely by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." Notwithstanding the recognition of the orders of the Scottish Church on the establishment of the first Protestant Episcopacy (see page 155), it was decided in London that Sharp and Leighton should be ordained deacons and reordained presbyters. That having been accomplished, all four bishops were "consecrated" in Westminster Abbey on 15th December, 1661.[1] It is noteworthy that on their return to Scotland, the bishops consecrated other ministers for the remainder of the dioceses without re-ordination. "The Second Scottish Episcopacy, like the first, rested on the recognition of the validity of Presbyterian orders." [2]

It has been said that during the second period of episcopacy the Church of Scotland was without either a confession, a catechism, or a liturgy, and certainly the position in regard to these and other matters was somewhat singular. The Westminster Confession and Catechisms were abolished by the Rescissory Act, and as regards the form of public worship, little or no difference was made except that the recent "novations" were largely given up, and the Lord's Prayer, Doxology, and Creed were restored. No liturgy was used except in one or two places, neither surplices nor ornament.[3] Another peculiar feature of Scottish episcopacy was that it never possessed a threefold order of ministry. The neglect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper continued unabated. Bishop Leighton exhorted his clergy in vain for more frequent celebration, and in the Cathedral city of Glasgow Holy Communion was only celebrated twice during the whole twenty-eight years of the second episcopacy. It goes without saying that there was no General Assembly; but the lower courts, transformed to a certain extent, continued to meet very much as formerly. Kirk-Sessions still occupied themselves with cases of discipline; Presbyteries, *minus* Ruling Elders, once again were called Exercises; and the synods became Diocesan Synods. In the *Book of the Exercise of Alford* the Minute frequently runs: "It is enacted (or ordered) by the Bishop with consent of the brethren of the Synod."

---

[1] See Note U, p. 256.

[2] Dr. G. W. Sprott's *Scottish Liturgies of James VI.*, p. xv.

[3] See Note V, p. 257.

The episcopal constitution of the Church, though imposed in such an arbitrary manner, was duly ratified by Parliament the following year when the Church's Charter of 1592 was annulled. The new order was generally accepted over the greater part of the country with a surprising amount of indifference. Only in the south-western counties where the Covenanters and Protesters were paramount was any widespread and serious opposition aroused. The Government promptly resolved and embarked upon a policy of coercion which speedily brought about a deplorable state of affairs, the memory of which has never ceased to affect profoundly Scottish religious sentiment.

The first step of any importance in the fatal path was the passing of the Patronage Act of 1662, which decreed that all ministers elected after 1649 should seek presentation from the patron and collation or induction from the bishop. Many of the ministers refused to acknowledge the bishops, and the Archbishop of Glasgow complained to the Lord Commissioner that none of the ministers in his diocese had applied for collation. The Privy Council accordingly issued orders that all ministers failing to comply with the Act should forfeit their livings and be evicted from their manses. In the end probably about one third of the total number of ministers were turned out of their homes. "They gave up every earthly possession," writes Grub, "and exposed themselves to the risk of further punishment, rather than sacrifice their conscientious convictions, and yield obedience to a form of church government which they believed to be unlawful in itself, and imposed by an unlawful authority."[4] About the same time in England some two thousand clergy suffered a similar fate for nonconformity.

The difficulty of getting any respectable minister to fill a parish thus made vacant was only overcome by the ordination of a lot of raw youths. In vain were episcopal hands laid upon them. Bishop Burnet confessed—"they were a disgrace to their order, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts." The people regarded them with more than scorn and shunned their churches with horror.

The outed clergy, already regarded as martyrs, continued to live in their parishes, ministering to their flocks who frequented their out-of-door services, and thus began those conventicles which formed such a notable feature of covenanting times. Obviously the ministers must be got rid of, so the Privy Council passed the "Mile Act," which prohibited them from residing within twenty miles of their former parish, six miles

[4] *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 208.

of Edinburgh, or three miles of a burgh. Another famous, or infamous, Act popularly called the "Bishops' Drag-Net" was also passed, imposing oppressive and ruinous fines on all who would not go to church. Landed proprietors were subject to fines of a fourth of their annual rental ; tenants to the loss of a fourth of their movables ; and burgesses to a similar amount and the forfeiture of the privilege of trading.

These measures in support of the episcopalian ministers proving ineffectual a more drastic law was passed against conventicles by which those attending were made liable to still heavier fines, and anyone who should preach or pray at any such meeting, or even in a house, was to be condemned to death and have his goods confiscated. To encourage the stringent execution of the law, the sheriffs and magistrates were authorised to keep all the fines they imposed on those under the rank of heritor ; and a reward of 500 merks was offered to anyone who should seize any preacher holding a conventicle, and be "indemnified for any slaughter that shall be committed in the apprehending and securing of them."

The non-churchgoer has always presented a difficult problem to ecclesiastical authorities. We smile as we read of the elders of the kirk going their rounds on the Sabbath morning hunting up absentees. They were no doubt tyrants in their own way, but it was a far different way from the bishops. In some cases the new method proved the more successful—at anyrate for a time, especially when the curate, as the episcopalian ministers were designated, called a roll of their parishioners. The absentees were then noted and their names reported not to the elders but to the military, when fines were imposed and soldiers were quartered upon the unfortunate non-churchgoers until the money was paid.

The Privy Council sent a special body of troops under Sir James Turner to support the curates in Galloway where the opposition of the people was strongest. On the 15th November, 1666, some of these troops arrested an old man in the village of Dalry and threatened to roast him alive because he refused to pay a fine imposed upon him for not attending church. Just then four Covenanters, who had been hiding in the neighbouring hills, appeared on the scene and resolved on his rescue. An altercation ensued, a shot was fired, and one of the soldiers was laid low. The die was cast. The four Covenanters were immediately joined by others and proceeded to Dumfries where they surprised and captured Sir James Turner himself. Continuing on their march they came to Ayr, and by the time they reached Lanark they numbered some two thousand strong. The rising had been unpremeditated, the leaders were without a plan of campaign, and the host was a mere rabble. A rumour that Edinburgh was ready to join them led them in that direction and on reaching Rullion Green at the foot of the Pentlands they were met, in a famished condition, by General Dalziel of Binns and put to flight, leaving some forty-five killed and a hundred prisoners. The latter were tried for treason ; Neilson of Corsock and Hugh M'Kail were tortured by means of a hideous instrument called " the boot " and afterwards hanged ; between thirty and forty others were also hanged, some in Edinburgh and others in Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine, and Dumfries ; and the rest were banished.

The rising having been suppressed with a stern hand Charles proclaimed his supreme authority in an Assertory

Act (1669), which, writes Grub,[5] "practically subjected the Church, in doctrine as well as in government, to the absolute will of the sovereign, and subverted all lawful ecclesiastical authority." The bishops accepted the position with sufficient resignation, but it confirmed the opposition of the Covenanters, who regarded it as a "sacrilegious supremacy."

It was at this stage that Robert Leighton, the saintly and peace-loving Bishop of Dunblane and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, endeavoured to effect a compromise between the extremists on both sides by inaugurating what was called an "Accommodation Movement," for establishing a primitive and constitutional form of episcopacy. "Episcopal government," he declared, "managed in conjunction with presbyters in presbyteries and synods is not contrary either to the rule of Scripture or the example of the primitive Church, but most agreeable to both."[6] His proposals may be briefly summarised as follows: (1) the bishops to be perpetual moderators and to preside when present in all church courts; (2) Entrants to the ministry to be presented by the patron to the presbytery for examination and, when approved, to be ordained by the bishops and presbyters in the vacant parish church and not in the cathedral; (3) Entrants to be under no obligation to take any canonical oath or subscription to the bishop, and ministers to be at liberty to retain their own private opinions regarding church government; (4) all church business to be settled in presbyteries and synods by the free vote of presbyters (ruling elders not mentioned), under right of appeal to provincial synods meeting once in three years when if occasion arose bishops might be censured. The Accommodation proposed, however, pleased neither the episcopalian nor the presbyterian party, and Leighton resigned his archbishopric in despair, and retired, broken-hearted, to England.

---

[5] *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 233. [6] Butler's *Leighton*, p. 403.

Other efforts were made to solve the difficulties of the situation when Indulgences were offered to the outed ministers to enable them to continue their ministry. Seeing how the bishops had tolerated presbyterian forms of worship, a good many ministers came to terms with the government, but the irreconcilables became more extreme and the situation became still more acute.

Conciliation having failed to restore even a semblance of peace, persecution was renewed, intensifying the religious aspect of the struggle. The conventicles held under circumstances of great danger, when the preachers were risking death and the hearers their liberty, became centres of spiritual revival ; and cases were known where troopers coming to attack were arrested by an unseen hand and remained to pray. Such brief seasons of respite were significantly called "The Blinks." But the powers of darkness prevailed, and the troopers were only too successful in rounding up the Covenanters and filling the prisons on the Bass Rock and elsewhere. An irregular force of ten thousand Highlanders, known as the "Highland Host" was quartered for three months upon the people in the south-western counties where the Covenanters were most numerous. These lawless men terrorised and pillaged their unwilling hosts mercilessly, and returned to their homes laden with plunder. The two men chiefly responsible for the campaign of persecution were Archbishop Sharp and the Duke of Lauderdale, the head officials of Church and State respectively, and both equally detested as turncoats and traitors. For ten years Sharp lived in dread of assassination till on 3rd May, 1679, he was attacked and murdered at Magus Moor, while driving with his daughter towards St. Andrews, by an armed band led by Hackston of Rathillet and Balfour of Kinloch, who had been driven to desperation by a sentence of outlawry. The murder of Sharp can no more be defended than that of Beaton, but its meaning is equally clear. Tyranny is never so odious or oppressive as when perpetrated under the cloak of religion. Both men—Archbishops of St. Andrews and Primates of Scotland—domineered and terrorised over the consciences of their fellow countrymen, and goaded men to a supreme act of desperation. They paid the penalty of their tyranny, but their death brought no relief, for it left the underlying causes of their policy unaffected. The murders were futile as well as criminal.

Hackston and Balfour fled to the west country where they soon attracted a following. Their first demonstration took place at Rutherglen on the anniversary of the Restoration (29th May, 1679), when a manifesto was affixed to the market cross. John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, then in command of some mounted troops in Glasgow immediately went in pursuit, and in the course of a few days came across them at a great conventicle at Drumclog on a desolate moor near Strathaven. The unexpected happened: the enthusiastic peasants turned to flight the disciplined veterans. Encouraged by this success the Covenanters marched on Glasgow, but finding the streets barricaded and defended they retired on Hamilton. Fierce dissensions now broke out between the moderates and the extremists and valuable time was wasted in paralysing altercations. Meanwhile the Government collected reinforcements and placed them under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, who advanced towards Hamilton and utterly routed the Covenanters at Bothwell Brig on 22nd June.

This disaster ushered in what is known as "the killing times." Fierce passions had been aroused on both sides. The Covenanters had become quite fanatical under their persecutions. At Hamilton they had an enormous gallows and at least one cartload of new ropes ready to hang their enemies, though it is doubtful whether the "bluidie banner" inscribed "No quarter for ye active enemies of the Covenant" was theirs or not. They seem to have imagined that they were the Chosen People and that their enemies were the Amalekites who were to be utterly destroyed. But Amalek prevailed and slaughtered some four hundred of the Chosen People and carried off 1184 in captivity to Edinburgh where they were herded together in Greyfriars Churchyard. Two of their ministers, King and Kirk, were hanged in the Grassmarket, and five others were executed at Magus Moor to avenge the murder of Sharp with which they had nothing to do. A number were liberated on taking an oath of submission, some escaped, others succumbed to their sufferings; and after five months of captivity the remainder, 210, along with 47 other prisoners, were shipped off to the American plantations there to be sold into slavery. These latter after enduring indescribable sufferings in the hold of the ship, where they were battened down, were shipwrecked on the coast of Orkney and over 200 of them were drowned like rats in a cage—the survivors only managing to escape when the vessel broke up.

The following summer Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, two of the most extreme men, accompanied by a band of twenty-one followers armed with drawn swords, rode into the village of Sanquhar and posted up at the market cross a manifesto headed "The Declaration of the True Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatic and Anti-Erastian and Persecuted Party in Scotland." The National Covenanters had come to this! Founded by men like the great Montrose, Henderson, and Johnstone who had enlisted practically the whole nation and had overthrown Episcopacy and restored Presbytery in the Church, they had dwindled away to a mere "party." After the primary object had been achieved each successive development of the movement was followed by the withdrawal of moderate and lukewarm supporters. The result was that the control of the movement passed into the hands of extremists. No doubt the new leaders were sincerely religious according to their lights and suffered much for the faith that was in them, but they were men of a narrow intellectual outlook who lost themselves in hopeless mental confusion and lamentably misled the simple-minded peasants who came under their influence. Unmeasured denunciations of a perjured King, and lamentations for their beloved country and its broken Covenant, stirred the people profoundly. There is nothing more pathetic in the records of human history than the heroic self-sacrifice of these truly pious men, women, and even children as they endured every outrageous form of persecution and martyrdom for no other purpose than what their conscience told them was "the cause of Christ against his enemies." The whole sad story is enough to make angels weep.

A month after the Sanquhar declaration Cameron and his band of Wild Whigs, Society Men, or Hill Men, as they were variously called, were surprised by a Government force under Bruce of Earlshall at Ayrsmoss in the parish of Auchinleck. "Lord, take the ripest and spare the greenest," Cameron was heard to pray before the action began. After a sharp fight Cameron and others were slain, Hackston was taken prisoner, and the survivors fled in disorder. Hackston was tried for the murder of Archbishop Sharp and executed in an indescribably barbarous manner. Richard Cameron was equally famous as a preacher and as a fighter, and he has left his name to two widely different institutions of our own day. The Reformed Presbyterian, or Cameronian, Church still maintains his principles, holding themselves and the whole nation to be bound by the Covenants and disowning, in theory at least, an uncovenanted government. The famous Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) were raised in 1689 from among Cameron's followers to help on the revolution which placed the presbyterian William of Orange upon the throne that the "popish" James VII. was declared to have forfeited. Its first Lieutenant-Colonel was William Cleland who led the Covenanters to victory at Drumclog, and it was this regiment that retrieved the reverse at Killiecrankie and brought the Civil War to an end. Before leaving Cameron it is only fair to point out that he was but premature in his action. In declaring that the King had forfeited the throne and in throwing off his allegiance, he was simply anticipating the decision to which the people of both kingdoms were to come at the Revolution in 1688.

The political importance of these disturbances was enormously exaggerated. They were confined to the south-western counties, and by this time but a handful of religious enthusiasts was involved. The rest of the population was peaceable and law-abiding, and only needed to be left alone. Such disorders as took place were due solely to the unnecessary interference of the Government, and to the nefarious proceedings of informers and lawless troopers. On account of these local outbreaks, the whole of Scotland was subjected to the most inquisitorial treatment. By the Test Act (1681) every public functionary from the highest to the lowest was compelled to swear most solemnly, amongst other things—that they professed the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith of 1560, the supremacy of the King in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, the unlawfulness of covenants and leagues, and that they acknowledged the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant to be no longer binding. Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Romanists were alike embarrassed by this Test ; the Bishops tried to explain it away, but rather than submit to it about eighty ministers resigned their parishes.

The close of Charles II.'s reign was marked by a conspiracy which became known as the Rye House Plot for overthrowing the King and the Duke of York (James VII.) and placing the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. In the course of investigations into this plot William Carstares, of whom more later, was subjected to torture, and Bailie of Jerviswood was hanged. A young minister, only twenty-one years of age, named James Renwick, came over from Holland, where some of the leading plotters were sheltering, and the following year issued in the name of the Society People, whose clerk he was, a Declaration (8th November, 1684), openly disavowing allegiance to the King and declaring war against him and his accomplices. This Declaration, the product of a hot-headed youth, was regarded most seriously by the Government and was the ostensible cause of a fresh outburst of persecution.

All non-churchgoers suspected of attending conventicles, and any thought to sympathise with such, were now called upon to take the Oath of Abjuration which solemnly disowned the pretended Declaration of War and the assertion that it was lawful to kill such as served his Majesty in Church, State, Army or Country. It is most noteworthy that the oath contained no reference to religion or church government. That any sane and honest person should hesitate to take such an oath shows how involved the whole situation had become. The fact is—the Government and the Cameronians were at cross purposes ; the one looked at the situation solely from the political and the other solely from the religious point of view and both aspects were but the distorted reflections of a complex problem.

The Test Act and the Adjuration Oath were made the instruments of almost incredible oppression. Their administration was entrusted to rough, lawless troopers who became utterly brutalised by their work and who plundered, extorted fines, and carried off prisoners at will. Those who were chiefly responsible for these iniquitous proceedings were : Sir George Mackenzie—the Advocate—" Bluidy Mackenzie " ; John Graham of Claverhouse—" Bluidy Clavers "—afterwards Viscount Dundee ; General Thomas Dalziel of Binns ; and Robert Grierson of Lagg, but the list might be indefinitely extended. Matters reached a climax in 1685—the Black Year—shortly after the death of Charles. In the month of May one hundred and sixty-seven prisoners, men and women from various prisons, were collected in Edinburgh and marched to Dunnottar Castle near Stonehaven. There they were herded together in a dark, stifling, underground vault, ankle deep in mire, and so crowded that they had to lean on each other, and were left without food or water except such as was sold to them at exorbitant rates. Some who managed to escape from this inferno were recaptured and hideously tortured. Death came as a happy release to some, and after two months' confinement some, broken in spirit by their sufferings, took the oath and were liberated ; others were removed to prisons elsewhere ; and about a hundred were branded like cattle and shipped off to America as slaves. More than half of them died on the voyage, and the survivors were given their freedom on landing by the local magistrate.

Two other ghastly tragedies which stained the month of May in the Black Year must be mentioned. John Brown, a carrier and crofter, of Priesthill in the parish of Auchinleck was carting peat one day on the lonely hillside when he was beset by Claverhouse and three troops of dragoons. He refused to take the Abjuration Oath and on being taken to his cottage which was searched, some bullets and treasonable papers were found. Brown was well known for his piety and exemplary character, and went by the name of "the Christian carrier" ; but all this availed him nothing and he was sentenced on the spot to death. Being granted permission, he prayed with such fervour that the troopers refused to fire. Whether Claverhouse with his own hand, or some Highlanders shot him, is uncertain ; but all accounts agree that he was summarily executed in the presence of his wife (with an unborn babe) and his child. The troopers moved off leaving the poor woman to remove the remains of her husband.[7]

Ten days later an even more infamous execution, if that were possible, took place at Wigtown when Margaret M'Lauchlan and Margaret Wilson were drowned in the Solway Firth. The former was a widow of sixty years of age who had been arrested when at family worship in her own house and cast into prison. The latter was a girl of eighteen who, with a younger sister named Agnes, aged thirteen, had been denounced by a spy for refusing to drink the King's health at a social gathering. Both sisters, the daughters of a conforming episcopalian yeoman, were sent to prison and, together with the older woman, were tried before Grierson of Lagg and others and condemned to death by drowning, on the usual indictment of attending conventicles and refusing the Abjuration Oath. Agnes was liberated on her father's bond, and steps were taken to obtain a reprieve for the two others. The Privy Council recommended a remission of the sentence, but the local authorities at Wigtown hurried on the execution, and intimation of the recommendation, which amounted to a reprieve, arrived too late. Meanwhile, with a refinement of cruelty, the older woman was tied to a stake far out on the sands where she would first be engulfed by the incoming tide in full view of the younger whose stake was close in shore. In vain they were entreated to take the Abjuration Oath ; for in their anxious perplexity they felt as if they had to choose between an earthly tyrant who was persecuting the people of God and an heavenly king. The two Margarets at the stake in the Solway

---

[7] Andrew Lang, *History of Scotland*, iii. 392.

Firth showed a heroism unexcelled by any in the whole noble army of martyrs. As the onward rushing tide came swirling around her, Margaret Wilson was heard to sing,—

> "My sins and faults of youth
> Do Thou, O Lord, forget:
> After Thy mercy think on me,
> And for Thy goodness great."

"For I am persuaded," she read from her Bible as the waters rose, "that neither life nor death . . . shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." The elder woman was drowned first, and a final effort was made to save the younger. Major Windram who was in charge of the execution once more offered her the Abjuration Oath. "I will not, I am one of Christ's children," she said, "let me go!" "Upon which," writes Wodrow, "she was thrust down again into the water, where she finished her course with joy."

James Renwick, to do him justice, was not so extreme as some of his associates. He is credited with having succeeded in toning down some of their wildest utterances, but his offence was grave enough and the Government spared no pains to secure him. It speaks volumes for the loyalty of his followers that he was able to travel and preach up and down the country for more than four years after issuing the declaration without being arrested. At last he was accidently discovered in Edinburgh, tried, and condemned to death. Efforts were made to save him but he refused to acknowledge James VII., an avowed Roman Catholic, as his lawful sovereign or to petition for pardon. He died bravely on 17th

February, 1688, and his was the last execution to take place in Scotland during the reign of terror.

The Church of Scotland's second experience of protestant episcopacy came to a welcome end towards the end of this year. Various estimates have been made of the numbers who suffered during the period. The Martyrs' Monument in Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh, places the number who perished one way or another at about eighteen thousand. Principal Cunningham, who is not given to exaggeration, says: " Upwards of five hundred were slain at Rullion Green, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, and Airsmoss. Probably a hundred and fifty were executed by the sentence of the Justiciary or Circuit Courts; and at least as many more were shot down by the military in the fields with no form of law at all. The multitude who suffered imprisonment or exile no man can number."[8] Wodrow gives an incomplete list of fines imposed amounting to over three million pounds Scots or £300,000 sterling—an enormous sum for those days.

The unmistakeable answer of Scottish history to the extravagant claims of episcopacy, Roman and Protestant, so frequently and so loudly asserted, has now been told. " Again the threefold ministry," writes Principal Story, " failed to vindicate its claim to special validity and sanctity. It was no more holy in character, catholic in spirit, and apostolic in power and gifts under Charles II. and James VII., than it had been under James V. and Mary."[9]

On emerging from the fiery trials of persecution, the emblem of the Burning Bush with the motto *Nec tamen consumebatur*, first appeared on the Acts of the General

---

[8] *Church History*, ii. 147. [9] *Apostolic Ministry*, p. 293.

Assembly. This emblem replaced on official documents the seals of the former bishops by common consent rather than by formal resolution. As Dean Stanley well observed, the Burning Bush "is as true a type of Scotland's inexpugnable defence of her ancient liberties, as it was of the ancient Jewish Church and people on their emergence from Egyptian bondage."[10]

[10] *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, p. 62.

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

When William, Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay on 5th November, 1688, his first act was to call on his trusted Scottish chaplain William Carstares to conduct a service of thanksgiving. The news of the successful landing and the march on London was welcomed in Scotland, as elsewhere, by the great majority of the people who feared papal aggression under James, but it was more especially hailed with joy by the persecuted Covenanters. Public feeling first manifested itself in the course of the following month, when a riot occurred in Edinburgh, and the Chapel Royal and a Jesuit school which had been installed in Holyrood were sacked. On Christmas Day, a popular rising took place in the south-western counties against the intruded curates, and continued for some weeks until all those who had incurred the displeasure of the people had been ejected from their manses and churches. The "rabbling of the curates," as the movement was called, was no doubt a lawless outbreak which cannot be defended; and many hardships were suffered by the episcopal clergy. They, however, were only reaping as they had sowed. Intruded by the bishops and supported by the military, they had literally dragooned their people without mercy, and when the tables were turned the curates were dismissed unceremoniously ; but not one of them was imprisoned, or exiled, or sold into slavery, or tortured, or shot. It was a revolution which stirred men's inmost souls ; but it was a bloodless one.

William lost little time in summoning a convention of the Estates which met in Edinburgh the following March. The result of its deliberations was embodied in a series of resolutions called the "Claim of Right," which declared, amongst other things, that James had forfeited the throne as, contrary to law, he was a professed papist and had exercised royal authority without taking the coronation oath ; that William and Mary were therefore declared to be King and Queen of Scotland ; and that "prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation (they having reformed from popery by presbyters) and therefore ought to be abolished."

The Bishop of Edinburgh, Rose, had been early at Court to look after the interests of the episcopate. He was presented at Whitehall to William who said, "I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England." The bishop was taken aback and replied, "Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience will allow me." The die was cast, William turned away, and Scottish episcopacy became identified with disloyalty. When the Convention of Estates met shortly afterwards, and James' supporters were outvoted, Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, left the meeting and proceeded to organise a rising in the Highlands. The issue was fought in the Pass of Killiecrankie on 27th July, 1689, when the government forces under General Mackay were defeated, but in the hour of victory "Bonnie Dundee" was slain and his enterprise failed. The *coup de grâce* was given at Dunkeld by the newly raised Cameronian Regiment.

While this strife was taking place in the field, Parliament was engaged passing an "Act abolishing prelacie" (1689) and thus episcopacy in the Church of Scotland came to a final end. It had twice been set up by the Crown in the most arbitrary and uncalled-for manner, and it was twice abolished by the unmistakeable will of the people. With regard to the future the Act declared that the King and Queen with the advice and consent of Parliament would "settle by law that Church Government in this Kingdom which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people." The inclinations of the people! Here was a revolution indeed! The Divine Right of Kings had disappeared; henceforth the *Jus Divinum* of Christian people in the affairs of their Church was established.

Two alternative courses were open to the Government. The most obvious perhaps was to repeal Charles II.'s Rescissory Act and other ecclesiastical legislation and so replace the Church in the position it occupied before the imposition of episcopacy in 1661. In this event the Covenants would have again been invested with the full force of law. So far as the National Covenant was concerned this was unnecessary, for its object had for a second time been accomplished in the abolition of episcopacy (Act 1689). As regards the Solemn League, its revival on the part of Scotland without similar action on the part of England, which was not to be expected, would have been worse than useless. The other plan for settling the future of the Church, which was adopted, was to leave the Rescissory Act as it stood, and rebuild afresh upon the Reformation Settlement. One modification alone was made: the Westminster Confession of Faith was substituted for the Confession of 1560. None of the other Westminster documents were enacted for a curious reason. The useful expedient of holding documents as read appears to have been unknown, and members of Parliament had to endure the reading of the thirty-three chapters of abstruse theological dogmas composing the Confession. It is no wonder then, when it was proposed to read the Directory for Public Worship and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, that the wearied legislators rebelled and refused to hear any more.

On 7th June, 1690, Parliament passed the Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church-Government. It revived and perpetually confirmed all laws "against popery and papists, and for the maintainance of the true Reformed Protestant religion, and for the true Church of Christ within this Kingdom." Then the (Westminster) Confession of Faith was "produced, read and considered word by word" and approved as "the public and avowed confession of this church, containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the reformed churches." The Act proceeds to "establish, ratify and confirm the Presbyterian Church government and discipline; that is to say the government of the Church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods and General Assemblies ratified and established by" the Act of 1592 which was revived, renewed, and confirmed. All Acts and proclamations from 1612 onwards contrary to or inconsistent with Presbyterian government now established were rescinded. Finally it was enacted that the Church government be established in the hands of those Presbyterian ministers, about sixty of whom survived, who were outed since the 1st January, 1661, for nonconformity with prelacy, and such others as they should co-opt. Another Act passed the same year transferred the right of presentation from the ancient patrons to the heritors and elders who were to name and propose a minister to the congregation ; and thereafter the Presbytery should pronounce judgment and proceed with the settlement.

All this was not accomplished without much difficulty, and it was largely owing to the wise counsel of William Carstares that the thorny ecclesiastical problem was so satisfactorily solved. Though brought up a presbyterian in the Dutch Reformed Church, the King had no belief in the divine right of presbytery or any other form of church government. When called upon to take the Coronation Oath, which contained the obligation to " root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, William at once interposed and said, " I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor." The Commissioners gave a satisfying assurance and the oath was duly taken. A new era had dawned ; freedom of conscience was proclaimed from the throne, but it had still to win its way among the people.[1] The King reiterated the lesson in his first letter to the General Assembly: "We never could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion ; nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion enjoins, neighbouring churches expect from, and we recommend to, you."

---

[1] See Note W, p. 257.

A good deal of hardship inevitably followed upon the change of administration, but upon the whole a spirit of moderation prevailed. This was seen seventeen years later, when at the Union of the two kingdoms no fewer than 165 "curates" still retained their livings. In the meantime so many of them desired to conform, that their influx proved a positive embarrassment tc the Church courts. The General Assembly debated so long on the terms upon which they should be received, that at last the Lord High Commissioner lost patience and abruptly dissolved it without naming the date of its next meeting. The Moderator, however, was equal to the occasion, and before pronouncing the Benediction named the third Wednesday of August, 1693, for the Assembly to meet again. Here was a pretty quarrel between the Church and State. Fortunately wise counsels prevailed and a collision was avoided by both parties agreeing to meet on another date. Ever since this dispute, the date of meeting has been fixed by mutual arrangement ; and the General Assembly is now dissolved and summoned first by the Moderator in the name of the Head and King of the Church, and afterwards, by the Lord High Commissioner in His Majesty's name.

But the Government was also suspicious, not without reason, of the curates' loyalty, and an Act was passed ordaining that all ministers as a condition of holding office must take an oath of allegiance and subscribe a declaration of assurance that William and Mary were King and Queen *de jure* as well as *de facto*. This created an outcry not so much among the episcopalian as among the presbyterian divines, some of whom regarded it as an encroachment by the civil magistrate on their spiritual functions. The matter was referred to the King at Kensington Palace who gave orders insisting upon the obnoxious oath, and the messenger was on the point of starting off with the despatch when Carstares, learning what had been done in his absence, boldly stopped him and took the despatch from him. By this time the King was in bed and fast asleep, and it was urgent that not a moment was to be lost in order that the messenger might arrive in Edinburgh before the Assembly met. Such was Carstares' position at Court that he succeeded in gaining admittance to the bedroom, and kneeling down gently awoke the King.

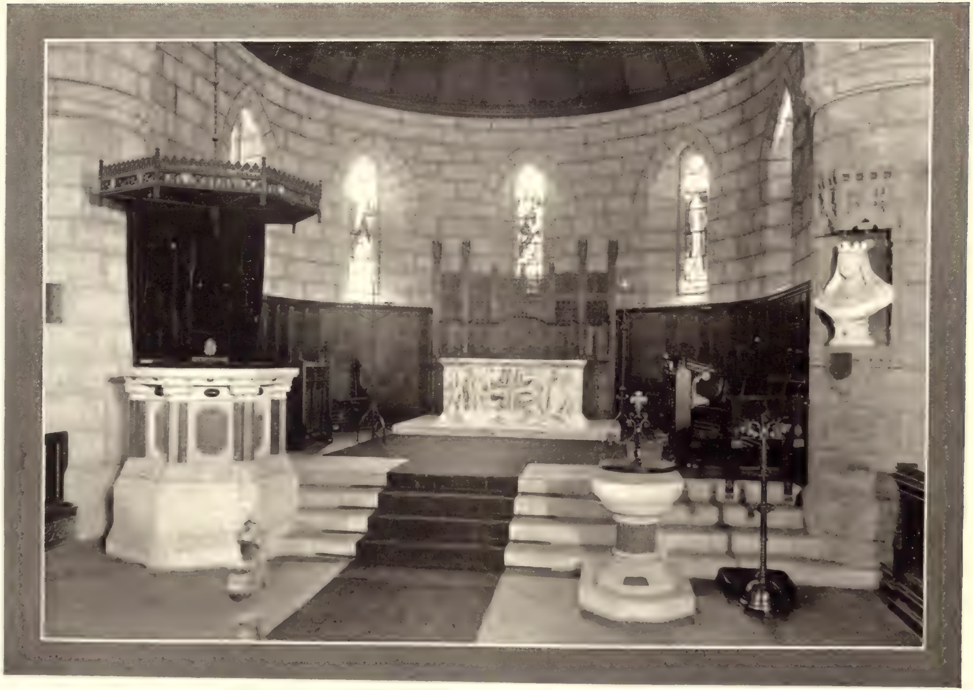
"I am come to beg my life," he said.

"Is it possible you have done anything deserving of death?" Carstares produced the despatch and pled so earnestly and convincingly with the King to conciliate the ministers, who were his best friends in Scotland, that the King told him to throw the despatch in the fire and to write out such instructions as he thought best. This was at once done, the new despatch was signed, and it arrived just in time to avert the threatened crisis.

With the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, the long cherished project of a union of Scotland and England came rapidly within the sphere of practical politics. The only hope of a successful issue of the negotiations lay in leaving the Revolution Settlement of the Scottish Church undisturbed. Accordingly Parliament passed a very stringent Act of Security which was afterwards inserted *verbatim* in, and declared to be a fundamental and essential condition of, the Treaty of Union. The Act includes the following provisions: "Her Majesty, with advice and consent of the said estates of Parliament, doth hereby establish and confirm the true Protestant religion, and the worship, discipline, and government of this Church, to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations." . . . After ratifying the Act of 1690, the Act proceeds: "The Government of the Church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies . . . shall remain and continue unalterable, and that the said Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the Church within the Kingdom of Scotland. . . . And lastly that after the decease of Her Present Majesty (whom God long preserve) the sovereign succeeding to her in the royal government of the kingdom of Great Britain shall in all time coming at His or Her accession to the Crown swear and subscribe that they shall inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid settlement of the true Protestant religion with the government, worship, discipline, rights and privileges of this Church as above established by the laws of this kingdom in prosecution of the Claim of Right."

In accordance with the Treaty of Union, His Majesty King George V. took and subscribed the required oath in the following terms immediately on his accession to the throne:

"I, George the Fifth, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, do faithfully promise and swear that I shall inviolably maintain and preserve the settlement of the true Protestant Religion with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights and Privileges of the Church of Scotland as established by the Laws made then in prosecution of the Claim of Right, and particu-



Bedford Lemere & Co.

THE PARISH CHURCH, CRATHIE.

View of the chancel, showing the Holy Table and reredos presented by H.M. King George in memory of the late King Edward; memorial bust of Queen Victoria placed here by King Edward; pulpit gifted by the Royal Household set with Iona pebbles given by H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll; and font, the gift of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Strathearn

larly by an Act intituled an Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, and by the Acts passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms for union of the two Kingdoms.

So help me God.

(Sgd.) GEORGE R. & I."

CHAPTER XI

DISSENSIONS

HITHERTO there had been but one Church in Scotland. At different times it had been controlled by Celtic monks, Romanists, Presbyterians, or Episcopalians. Its form of worship had varied and its apprehension of divine truth had been progressive, but amid all the changes of many centuries it adhered steadfastly to the great verities of the Christian Religion expressed in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. Throughout its stormy and chequered career from the days of S. Ninian to the present hour, the Church of Scotland has kept the faith, though at times buried beneath error and superstition—the true Catholic faith held *ubique, semper, ab omnibus.*

But the unity of the Church had thus far been upheld merely in outward appearance and only by coercive methods under which all parties had alike suffered in turn. However desirable in theory, uniformity in religion had plainly become impossible in practice. The struggle for mastery was about to become one for liberty—often so self-centred and intense that the need for discipline in the Church was at times overlooked.

Ever since the Reformation Settlement there had existed in various districts a more or less considerable residue of the old Roman party, and in the Highlands the reform movement never penetrated into some of the more remote glens and islands. The persecuted remnant were ministered to in secret by brave and devoted priests amid many dangers and hardships. Not until nearly a century had elapsed did circumstances allow the formation in 1653 of the scattered clergy into a " Mission" which was placed under the charge of William Ballantine or Bellenden as Prefect.[1] A further step was taken in 1694 when the Mission was placed under Thomas Nicolson who was appointed by the Pope his Vicar-Apostolic with episcopal powers and consecrated at Paris, by the Bishops of Agen, Luçon and Ypres, as Bishop of Peristachium *in partibus infidelium*.[2] Nicolson was succeeded by Bishops of Nicopolis, Cyrrha and other oriental sees with picturesque names until 1878 when a new Scottish hierarchy of two Archbishops and four Bishops with more commonplace titles was created by Pope Leo XIII. Thus was formed what is now generally known as the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland.

The Protestant Episcopalians, at that time a fairly numerous body especially in the north, were in a different position from the Romanists. Though deprived of their jurisdiction and dioceses, the bishops continued to minister without let or hindrance to such as still acknowledged them. Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, went to France with James VII., and afterwards joined the Church of Rome. His case has been much referred to in recent years in connection with the enquiry by the authorities at the Vatican as to the validity of Anglican Orders. It was decided that Gordon could not be received as a bishop but only as a layman, and must be ordained anew and unconditionally. Such was the

---

[1] Bellesheim, iv. 43.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 147.

Pope's verdict on the episcopal Orders which Archbishop Sharp brought from London. The Scottish bishops, however, regarded them in a more serious light and ere long the question arose: Is the episcopal succession to lapse as the bishops die out? And, are Episcopalians to conform to, or dissent from, the national Church? On the overthrow of Charles I.'s episcopacy the episcopate introduced by Spottiswoode was allowed to lapse and a schism was avoided. A different policy was now adopted, and it was decided that a separate episcopal communion should be maintained apart from the national church. Accordingly in 1705 three of the surviving bishops met in Edinburgh and consecrated two ministers as bishops without however assigning to them any dioceses.[3] From time to time others were consecrated in a similar manner and the Episcopalians of Charles II.'s and Archbishop Sharp's foundation are represented by their successors to-day in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

It will be seen that there is a clear and important distinction between the historical positions of the Scottish Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches and that of the Church of Scotland. The two former churches when tracing their lineage backwards come to a point at which there is a complete break which separates them from the historic Scottish Church. When Charles II. resolved to establish episcopacy in 1661, there was no foundation upon which he could build. He was compelled to send Sharp and three other ministers to be "consecrated" in London, and upon the foundation of the English Church the Scottish Episcopal Church was erected. The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland is in a similar position. It began with a "Mission," in the seventeenth century, and when Pope Innocent XII. resolved to appoint a bishop for Scotland there was again no foundation upon which he could build. He was compelled to send Nicolson to be "consecrated" in Paris, and upon the foundation of the French Church the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland was erected. There never has been any similar break in the historic continuity of the Church of Scotland whose orders at no time were renewed either in England or France. Archbishops and bishops, abbots and priors, have come and gone, but no change of administration has interrupted the succession of presbyters. When we witness the ordination of a minister of the Church of Scotland, we see the celebration of a sacred rite which has been perpetuated and conveyed by Scottish lips and hands, not merely from the time of Archbishop Sharp or the Bishop of Peristachium, but from the twelfth century without question, not improbably from the time of S. Columba and not impossibly from S. Ninian himself.

---

[3] Grub, iii. 350.

The years immediately following the union of the two kingdoms were fateful to the future of episcopacy in Scotland. Hitherto Episcopalians had conformed to the form of public worship maintained since the Reformation, and they had been distinguished by their loyalty, sometimes excessive, to the throne. They now embarked on a new policy with disastrous results to themselves. In the year 1709 a curate named James Greenshields opened a place of worship in Edinburgh and introduced the Church of England prayer book. The Presbytery at once summoned him before them for using innovations and inhibited him. Greenshields declined their jurisdiction and was in consequence committed by the magistrates to prison. On appeal, the

Court of Session upheld the Presbytery's decision ; but the case being carried to the new British House of Lords the finding of the lower court was reversed, and the Episcopalians gained the right to use the Liturgy of the English Church. In 1712 the position thus brought about was regularised by a Toleration Act which confirmed the liberty gained in the law courts provided that the Episcopalians prayed for the Queen and Royal Family during divine service. In course of time the distinctive worship of the historic Scottish episcopacy was abandoned in favour of that of English episcopacy.

It would have been well if the Revolution Settlement of the Church had been let alone. Unfortunately the new British Parliament, animated by Jacobite and Episcopalian influences it is thought, made a bad beginning with its Scottish legislation. It passed an Act in 1712, usually referred to as the Act of Queen Anne, repealing the Act of the Scottish Parliament and restoring the rights of lay patrons. "It violated the Treaty of Union," writes Mr. Christopher N. Johnston, lately Procurator of the Church and now Lord Sands, "changed the constitution of the Church of Scotland against the remonstrances of the Church itself, and has been the cause or occasion of all the secessions from the Church which have since occurred."

The death of Queen Anne raised the hopes of the supporters of her brother James—the Chevalier St. George, somewhat unfeelingly called the Old Pretender, with the result that in the following year (1715) the first Jacobite rebellion took place. The most distinguished of the leaders were zealous supporters of episcopacy, and the public devotions of their armies were conducted according to the ritual of the English Church. Again in

1745, when Prince Charles Edward landed in the Highlands, it was the Episcopalians who rallied round his standard. The failures of these enterprises brought down the heavy hand of the government upon the curates and the congregations committed to their charge. The first penal Act of 1719, prohibited under a penalty of six months' imprisonment an episcopal minister from conducting service in any place where more than nine persons in addition to the members of the household were present, unless he had taken the oath of Abjuration and prayed for the King. Other and more stringent penal acts were passed after 1745. It was not till the very end of the century in 1792 that the Episcopalian ministers having agreed to pray for the King were released from their disabilities. But a century of disloyalty and nonconformity more than decimated their ranks. According to Canon Anthony Mitchell, they dwindled from being a body of six hundred clergy and two thirds of the people of Scotland at the Revolution, to forty-four clergy and less than one twentieth part of the population.[4] But disloyalty and nonconformity were not the only causes of the decline. Bishop Rattray acknowledged that—" the divine right of episcopacy and the necessity of an ordination by bishops for conferring sacerdotal powers was very little known among our laity, perhaps not by several of our clergy themselves." [5] It would therefore appear that episcopacy in the Church of Scotland was more a matter of political expediency and perhaps the expression of reaction from presbyterian extremists, than the product of religious conviction, or even the mere preference for a liturgical form of worship.

[4] *A Short History of the Church in Scotland*, p. 104.

[5] J. F. S. Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, ii. 109.

Those Cameronians who had regarded the Revolution Settlement with misgivings felt that their fears were justified when Scotland entered into a political union with England which ignored the Solemn League and sanctioned prelacy in the English Church. John Macmillan, the minister of Balmaghie, at once seceded and published a manifesto protesting against—" the sinful terms of the late God provoking, religion destroying, and land ruining, union." In the course of time he was joined by others who afterwards formed the Reformed Presbyterian Church at Crawfordjohn in 1745 on the basis of the Covenants. The Cameronians dissented not only from the Church but also, so far as circumstances admitted, from the State. In 1863 a majority joined the then Free Church, but a minority still maintain, theoretically at least, their original protest.

The next, though sometimes accounted the first, secession was of a more serious nature. It took place in the year 1733 when Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling and three others formed what they called the " Associate Presbytery." The causes which led to this unfortunate result were partly doctrinal but mainly temperamental, and the occasion arose out of the patronage question. The cleavage first showed itself in the condemnation by the General Assembly of a book entitled, " The Marrow of Modern Divinity," which was approved and strongly defended by Erskine and also by Thomas Boston, author of " The Fourfold State "—a famous book in its day. Ten years after this another controversy arose over some new legislation which provided that when a patron failed to make a presentation within six months of a vacancy occurring, the heritors, if Protestants, and the elders, following the precedent of 1690, should have the right to appoint a minister. The arrangement was strongly objected to by those who maintained the divine right of the people to elect their own ministers, and also because it was not required that the heritors should be churchmen. Questionable procedure on the part of the Assembly called forth vehement denunciations from Erskine, and the end of the conflict was that Erskine and his colleagues were first suspended and then separated from their charges for insubordination.

By the following year the temper of the General Assembly had calmed down, and an earnest attempt was made to undo the past. The obnoxious Act of Assembly was repealed and a deputation was sent to London to endeavour to get patronage abolished. But the offending, and now offended, brothers refused to hear the Church or to return to the fold : nevertheless Mother Church dealt tenderly with them, allowing them to enjoy their livings and to minister in their churches for some years until at last in 1740, they were formally deposed. It is evident from a manifesto which they issued that the Associate presbyters were animated by a reactionary spirit more akin to that of the Cameronians than to that of the Revolution Settlement. The toleration of popery, prelacy, and witchcraft were all alike condemned and deplored. The Covenants were held to be a perpetual obligation, and the union with England to be inconsistent with the Solemn League. It was not long before these earnest souls wrestling with their morbid consciences found themselves in a serious difficulty. Burgesses were required to take an oath owning, "the true religion professed within this realm and authorised by the laws thereof." What religion did this mean? Some thought it meant that of the National Church; others gave it a wider interpretation. Agreement on this knotty point being found impossible the Associates separated into two bodies, viz. the Burgher Synod whose members took the oath, and the Anti-Burgher Synod whose members refused the oath. The latter solemnly excommunicated the former, which included Erskine and his brother. At the end of the century a section of the Anti-Burghers reconsidered their position with regard to the Covenants and formulated a "New Testimony." The "New Lights," as this progressive section was called, were opposed by the "Auld Lichts" who kept to the old paths. The former won the day; the latter, which included Dr. M'Crie, the biographer of Knox and Melville, separated in 1806 and were duly excommunicated by their former brethren. The "Auld Lichts" soon became involved in a troublesome controversy over a matter of ritual. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper the words—"The Lord Jesus . . . took bread," raised the question—Should the minister take and lift the bread, or merely touch it before giving thanks? Those who adopted the former alternative were called "Lifters" while the latter were called "Anti-Lifters." In 1820, the obnoxious Burgher's oath having been abolished, "the Breach," as the dispute between the Burghers and Anti-Burghers was called, was healed, and the reunited body took the name of "the United Secession."

But we must retrace our steps to the year 1752, when another deplorable secession, also due to patronage, took place. At Inverkeithing the parishioners were strongly opposed to the settlement of the minister selected by the patron, and the Presbytery of Dunfermline delayed his induction to the charge. The General Assembly eventually ordered the Presbytery to meet on a certain day and induct the minister but only three ministers attended and, not forming a quorum, could not proceed with the ceremony. The General Assembly then resolved to mete out retribution to the other members of Presbytery who had purposely absented themselves and summoned them to appear at the bar. It was decided to depose one of them as an example, and the choice fell on Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock. The following year his parishioners and Presbytery petitioned the General Assembly for his reinstatement, but by a majority of three votes their prayer was refused and the sentence was deliberately upheld. Gillespie and his friends thereafter formed themselves into the "Relief Synod" in which they sought reliefs from the evils of patronage, or, as they expressed it—"the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges." The "Relief Synod" and the "United Secession" united in 1847 under the name of the "United Presbyterian Church."

As the old controversies about popery, episcopacy, and the covenants subsided, new differences of opinion emerged and new controversies arose within the Church. In a few instances they were occasioned by specific matters of doctrine, but in the main they were the expression of two different schools of thought, apparently antagonistic but really complementary. The Evangelicals and the Moderates, as the two parties were called, acted and reacted on each other for more than a century. Sources of weakness were exposed and cherished shibboleths were attacked: new problems had to be faced and new positions taken. Extreme men as usual came into prominence, and prompted Bishop Warburton to say, in his haste, of the Scottish clergy that they were—"half of them fanatics and half infidels." Dean Stanley more politely characterised the period as one of "great philosophic virtue and evangelical grace." At the Reformation Knox and Melville led the Church from a mediaeval feudalism in religion back to the Bible: the Evangelicals and Moderates led it from the Old to the New Testament.

The Moderates at an early stage rose to a dominant position, which they long retained, in the councils of the Church. They represented law and order, even though the enforcement of the law meant the outraging of Christian sentiment, and the causing of repeated secessions from the Church. In their ministry they were freely accused of preaching "mere morality," and neglecting the doctrines of divine grace. Their message in some respects was negative rather than positive, but it was not unneeded, for Scotland had been surfeited with the teaching of "divine rights" and "perpetual covenants."

The Evangelicals, or the "Popular Party," as they were sometimes called, were the spiritual successors of the Puritans of the former century. Their personal piety and zeal for orthodoxy had been maintained and promoted in large measure by means of Praying Societies which met in private houses. The Communion Seasons at this period were the occasions of large gatherings and multiplied services. At Cambuslang, in August, 1742, an immense crowd, estimated at from thirty to forty thousand persons, many of whom had travelled considerable distances, assembled for a celebration of the Lord's Supper. Public worship, conducted in the open air, began at half-past eight o'clock in the morning and continued till ten o'clock at night. Tables at which, in many relays, some three thousand persons partook of Holy Communion were set in the midst of a natural amphitheatre, while the surrounding braes were crowded with onlookers. The parish minister was assisted by about a dozen ministers, including George Whitefield who not only preached but also served five tables.

The welcome accorded to George Whitefield and subsequently to John Wesley, when they visited Scotland, both clergymen of the Church of England, is significant of the growth of a larger spirit of Christian charity between the two national churches. Whitefield and Wesley came to proclaim the brotherhood of Christian men and churches and not to belittle the Scottish Church with the fanatical arrogance of superior persons. They were received like all who come in a similar spirit with hearty goodwill. But the Associate Presbytery took unfortunate offence at Whitefield's liberality. They wanted him first of all to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant and then promise to preach only for them.

" Why only for them ? " he asked the Associates—" a set of grave, venerable men."

Ralph Erskine replied,—" They were the Lord's people."

Whitefield then said that if the others were the Devil's people they had the more need to be preached to, and that if the Pope himself were to lend him his pulpit he would gladly preach from it. The venerable Associates probably looked still graver at the frankness of their visitor, who found more congenial company among the parochial clergy.

The close of the eighteenth century was marked by two noteworthy events. After prolonged consideration the General Assembly in 1781 gave a provisional approval to the Paraphrases. They were then remitted to the Presbyteries for consideration and seem to have been allowed, as the phrase is, "to lie on the table," for no further action was taken nor has any express sanction ever been granted. In 1796 the Synods of Fife and Moray petitioned the General Assembly in favour of a mission to the heathen. The proposal was vigorously opposed on the usual lines, when Dr. John Erskine of Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, interposed with the request, "Moderator, rax me that Bible." He then skilfully brought the Assembly back to the warrant of Holy Scripture for all mission work, whether home or foreign, a matter the critics had seemingly overlooked. Nevertheless the proposal at that time was too much of a novelty and it was politely declined by fifty-eight to thirty-four votes.

About this time the brothers Robert (1764-1842) and James Alexander Haldane (1768-1851) began to attract attention. The elder, who had retired from the navy, was proprietor of the beautiful estate of Airthrie near Bridge of Allan, while the younger had also been at sea as officer of an East Indiaman. With a breezy, whole-hearted unconventionality, which found favour with the people and shocked many of the ministers, they threw themselves into the work of evangelising their own countrymen. In season, and probably also out of season, they preached, organised Sunday schools, and distributed tracts, sparing neither time nor money on the work. It was like pouring new wine into old bottles. The opposition aroused led them to build halls which they called Tabernacles, and intended for temporary use only ; but in course of time it was found they could not well be abandoned, and eventually they became Independent or Congregational Chapels. The Haldanes afterwards caused a schism in the new denomination by becoming Baptists. Thus the splendid labours of these two devoted sons of the Church were dissipated, and two new sects were added to the other forms of dissent.

The period from 1820 to 1840 was one of much progress in many directions. It was a time when the country was recuperating after the Napoleonic wars. The Education scheme for establishing schools in the Highlands led the way in 1824. Five years later Alexander Duff, the first foreign missionary of the Church, was sent to India, where he founded a famous college now known as the Scottish Churches College. In 1834 the magic eloquence of Thomas Chalmers was heard arousing the public to the need of home mission work, and the Church Extension Scheme received such an impetus that in four years nearly two hundred new churches were erected. Two years later the Colonies attracted attention and the Colonial Scheme was instituted. Through this scheme the important Presbyterian Churches of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand were founded. Finally, the Jewish Mission was resolved upon in 1838, when Robert Murray M'Cheyne and Andrew Bonar were sent to Palestine on a tour of investigation.

During the same period new controversies arose. Dr. Andrew Thomson (1780-1831) led an attack on the Apocrypha and succeeded in getting it removed from our Bibles. He is remembered better as a musician by his tune named after his church, St. George's, Edinburgh, and still sung to Ps. xxiv., "Ye gates, lift up your heads on high." Of a different nature was the controversy raised by John MacLeod Campbell, minister of Row (1800-1872), whom all accounts agree in describing as a most saintly and loveable man. His preaching on the love of God and the forgiveness of sins was understood to involve two heresies, "the first, that Christ had made atonement for all men; the second, that assurance was of the essence of faith." [3] Libelled in 1831 for so teaching he was condemned by an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly and deposed from the ministry. Edward Irving (1792-1834), a devoted man of great eloquence, minister of the Scots Church in Regent Square, London, embraced heretical doctrine on the abstruse subject of Christ's human nature which he expounded in a book. For this he was libelled and eventually deposed by the Presbytery of Annan in 1833. Irving, who was of a highly mystical nature, is perhaps best remembered as one of the founders of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church—a body sometimes called the "Irvingites." Cases of heresy no doubt present peculiar difficulties to those concerned, but in the Campbell and Irving instances all alike seem to have exhibited a deplorable lack of sweet reasonableness.

So far back as 1730 John Glas, minister of Tealing, was deposed for preaching against the hard legalism of the Covenants, and for emphasising the distinction between Church and State in opposition to their generally accepted unity. He founded a body known as the "Glasites," or "Sandemanians," after his son-in-law, who further expanded his theories. A century later,

---

[3] Dr. A. Milroy in *The Church of Scotland*, iv. 287.

S. GEORGE'S PARISH CHURCH, EDINBURGH.

amidst the Reform Bill agitation, the United Seceders carried Glas' teaching so far as to denounce the connection between Church and State as unlawful, and to advocate their separation. The Voluntary controversy, as the discussion of the question was called, was stimulated by the need for Church extension and the disappointment felt at the failure of obtaining the necessary funds from the Government. On former occasions Parliament had provided forty new churches in the Highlands, and had granted a sum of £10,000 a year to raise ministers' stipends in poor livings to £150 a year. The Seceders had meantime shown how much could be done by voluntary effort, and the Church was compelled to follow their example by appealing to the liberality of her faithful people. The response was prompt and generous: large sums were collected, and the supply of funds has continued to expand in ever-increasing volume. The Church made a notable advance when she learned that she could depend on the voluntary offerings of her people to supplement the meagre residue of her endowments.

Had Roman Catholics or Episcopalians led the campaign for the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, it could have been more readily understood than that Presbyterians should do so. The latter suggests a case of attempted suicide whilst of unsound mind. No doubt the Seceders had a very real grievance with which it is impossible not to sympathise, for they had sometimes been ruthlessly treated. But the constitution of the Church was at fault. The true remedy lay not in the destruction of a venerable Scottish national institution but in the amendment of defective laws. It was only at a later period that the soundness of this policy was to be generally recognised by the people of Scotland.

All these controversies and dissensions were overshadowed by the "Ten Years' Conflict" of 1833-43, which culminated in the Disruption and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland. The political and economic progress of the country and the spiritual revival of the Church, resulting in the extension of its activities, created new problems, and the whole conflict arose out of that most perplexing of situations when an attempt is made to do the right thing in the wrong way. It is difficult for us to realise to-day the intense feeling which embittered for many years the religious and social life of the country as the situation developed.

The General Assembly of 1834 met in Christ's Kirk at the Tron and adopted two measures which proved to be so many steps into an alluring By-Path Meadow of elusive spiritual independence. The first step was the Chapel Act, which sought to confer on the chapels of ease erected under the Extension Scheme the status of parish churches by allocating to them parochial districts *quod sacra*, creating kirk-sessions, and giving them the usual representation in the Church Courts. Dr. Chalmers disapproved of the Act; and it was opposed by some of the wisest men in the Assembly, who held that it was *ultra vires*, and urged that the necessary powers should be sought from Parliament. Unfortunately they were overruled, and the Act was adopted by 153 to 103.

The second step was the better known Veto Act, which declared it to be a fundamental law of the Church that no pastor should be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people, and gave to a majority of the male heads of families, being communicants, the right to disapprove of a presentee to a vacant parish, and instructing the Presbytery, when such right was exercised, to reject him accordingly. Opinion was sharply divided as to the legality of the proposed Act. It directly limited the rights conferred on patrons by the Act of Queen Anne in 1712, as well as the judicial functions of the Presbytery and raised the question—Can the General Assembly override an Act of Parliament? Here again Dr. Chalmers was doubtful and urged in vain that "application should be made to the Government so that the civil sanction might be appended to the Assembly's Act." His fears were overcome chiefly by Lord Moncrieff, one of the judges of the Court of Session, who moved the adoption of the Veto Act in the General Assembly. Dr. M'Crie, the distinguished "Auld Licht" Seceder, almost alone seems to have pointed out the true solution of the problem, viz. to petition the Legislature for the abolition of patronage. But the General Assembly at that period was not opposed to patronage as such, or in favour of popular election; all it wanted was a measure of protection against the abuses of patronage which occasionally occurred. The Veto Act, a moderate measure in itself if only it had been legally competent, was adopted by the General Assembly by 184 votes against 139.

It was not long before the Church found itself in serious difficulties arising out of its forward policy. In most cases the harmonious settlement of ministers proceeded as before, but the exceptions were sufficient to create a most difficult situation. At Auchterarder the Earl of Kinnoul, as patron, presented a Mr. Young to the vacant parish. The call was signed by three persons only, out of a population of some 3,000 souls, whilst 287 petitioned the Presbytery against the settlement. In these circumstances the Presbytery refused to proceed, whereupon the patron and the presentee raised an action in the Court of Session to enforce their rights. By a majority of eight judges against five the Court decided in their favour, finding that the Veto Act under which the Presbytery had acted was contrary to the patronage Act of Queen Anne. On appeal the House of Lords confirmed the judgment of the Court of Session.

A case of a different nature arose at Marnoch in the Presbytery of Strathbogie. Here the presentee, a Mr. Edwards, only succeeded in obtaining one parishioner to sign his call, while 261 out of 300 qualified persons vetoed him. In these circumstances the Presbytery referred the matter to the Synod and General Assembly, and were instructed to reject the presentee. The patron then nominated a Mr. Henry, whereupon Mr. Edwards obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against the Presbytery inducting him. A majority of the Presbytery thought it proper to obey the law of the land rather than the orders of the General Assembly, and proceeded to sustain the call to Mr. Edwards. Then the General Assembly suspended the majority from exercising their ministry as a punishment for their contumacy, and instructed the minority to enter their churches and conduct the services, whereupon the majority appealed to the Court of Session and obtained interdict against the minority. Finally the suspended majority inducted Mr. Edwards amid a scene of deplorable disorder and in consequence were deposed by the following General Assembly.

The problem, already sufficiently involved, was further complicated by a case arising out of the Chapel Act.

A minister and congregation of the Associate Synod at Stewarton had returned to the mother Church, and the Presbytery of Irvine were proceeding to allocate them a parish *quod sacra* when the heritors intervened and obtained interdict. The case was carried to the Court of Session where, by a majority of eight judges against five, it was decided that the Church had no power to create new parishes or to admit the ministers of such to its courts, and thus the Chapel Act was declared illegal.

Such cases as those of Auchterarder, Strathbogie, and Stewarton indicate the bewildering entanglement of litigation in both ecclesiastical and civil courts which the initial blunders of the Veto and Chapel Acts had woven around the Church. Why the General Assembly did not at once rescind the illegal Acts and seek another remedy in a constitutional manner for admitted evils, can only be explained by the heated atmosphere of the controversy and the confusion of issues. The Assembly was sharply divided into two parties ; the merits of the original question were largely lost sight of, and the majority thought they were contending for " the Crown Rights of the Redeemer " as they expressed it in the exalted language of the day. Most strange of all is it to find that Chalmers, who opposed the one and distrusted the other of these Acts, should have adopted this view of the situation and have become its foremost champion.

To " render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God the things which are God's " is a simple rule, but it is sometimes perplexing to find out which is which. In the matter in question one would think that a look at the " image and superscription " on the

Act of Queen Anne should have solved the difficulty. The Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, in an official communication to the General Assembly on the eve of the Disruption, explained the situation thus : "Whether a particular matter in dispute is so entirely spiritual as to fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Church courts may often be a difficult question, but it is a question of law, and questions of law are settled in courts of law." A more recent authority, Lord Justice Clerk Moncrieff (Auchtergaven Case, 1870), has expounded the position of the Church of Scotland's jurisdiction in spiritual matters as follows : "The jurisdiction of the Church courts, as recognised judicatories of this realm, rests on a similar statutory foundation to that under which we administer justice within these walls. Within their spiritual province the Church courts are as supreme as we are within the Civil." "Even in the controversy of 1843," writes Mr Taylor Innes, an eminent Free Church lawyer, "the Court never denied the finality, in the Church's province, of the Church courts." Where the Church went astray was in encroaching on the civil rights of heritors, and of patrons contrary to the Act of Queen Anne, and in persisting in that course after the law of the land had declared it to be illegal.

On the other hand it appeared to many that what they termed "the Headship of Christ" had been encroached upon by the civil courts, and that in loyalty to Him the only course for them was to separate and constitute themselves into a Free Church of Scotland. The Disruption accordingly took place when the General Assembly met on 18th May, 1843, in St. Andrew's Church. The use of the word "Disruption" rather than "Secession" signifies that in their view they were still churchmen and not seceders or voluntaries; and that they were the free, and therefore the true, Church of Scotland which had separated from the Erastian residue forming the "Established Church." Out of the 1203 ministers of the Church before the Disruption no fewer than 451 left their churches and manses.[4] Of the heroic nature of their sacrifices for conscience sake there can be no question; it aroused the admiration even of their ecclesiastical opponents. Whether they were mistaken in their views and action or not is a question which is still debated, but it is one which may well be allowed to rest.

A few months after the Disruption Parliament sought to remedy the ineptitude of the Church's Chapel Act in passing what is known as Sir James Graham's Act by which provision was made for the erection of parishes *quod sacra*. Under the leadership of Dr. James Robertson an Endowment Scheme was inaugurated about the same time, which was the means of raising the funds required to secure a modest stipend for the minister. This excellent Act has enabled 531 new parishes to be added to the Church (1917), thereby greatly increasing its usefulness and efficiency. The disastrous Act of Queen Anne was repealed in 1874, and patronage was conferred on communicants and adherents, both men and women. No doubt popular election has its drawbacks; but if a wrong choice should be made the people have no one to blame but themselves, and on the whole it must

---

[4] The position was as follows:

	Remaining.	Seceding.
Parish Ministers -	681	289
Chapel Ministers -	71	162
	752	451

be admitted that since it came into force the Church has enjoyed peace and prosperity.[5]

The dissensions and secessions did much to bring presbyterianism into disrepute. The endless wrangling, the heated and exaggerated language in which each side extolled its own virtues and lashed its opponents' shortcomings, was followed by a welcome reaction after the issue of the ten years' conflict had been decided, when both parties were compelled to attend to the more prosaic duties of setting their own house in order. Perhaps in some cases the rivalry which stirred them was "unholy" as was freely asserted by the onlooker—it certainly was effective. The Free Church amid great difficulties created a new ecclesiastical organisation of marvellous completeness which not only extended throughout Scotland, but undertook great missionary enterprises in foreign lands. The mother Church, bereft of the "popular party," had a still harder task, but brave hearts plodded on, and renewed life and vigour gradually returned.

A new generation of remarkably able men arose who threw themselves whole-heartedly into the work of restoring the waste places of the Church. The labours of Dr. James Robertson for the Endowment Scheme already mentioned were crowned by the princely gift of half-a-million sterling from James Baird of Cambusdoon. Dr. Norman Macleod, the friend of the poor and of Queen Victoria, inspired fresh enthusiasm for both home and foreign mission work. Dr. A. H. Charteris organised and developed the activities of Church members through the Christian Life and Work

---

[5] For the regulations relating to the election of ministers, see *The Church of Scotland Year Book.*

Committee, founding Young Men's and Women's Guilds, training Parish Sisters, and reviving the Order of Deaconesses. Dr. James Paton founded the Social Scheme which maintains Homes for working lads, Hostels for young women, and Institutions for reclaiming the weak and erring.

In another direction Principals John Tulloch and John Caird, Professor William Milligan, and Dr. John Macleod breathed fresh life from different quarters into the dry bones of theological orthodoxy from which much of the spirit had departed. Dr. Robert Lee and Dr. A. K. H. Boyd led in the movement for the enrichment of the worship of the Church by the introduction of the organ and hymns and by reviving the use of liturgical forms. Worthier ideas of Christian worship resulted in the restoration of St. Giles' Cathedral by Dr. W. Chambers during the ministry of Sir J. Cameron Lees, and of other ancient cathedrals and churches. A nobler type of church adorned with works of art arose to take the place of the mean and barnlike structures which have been too long a just reproach to our country.

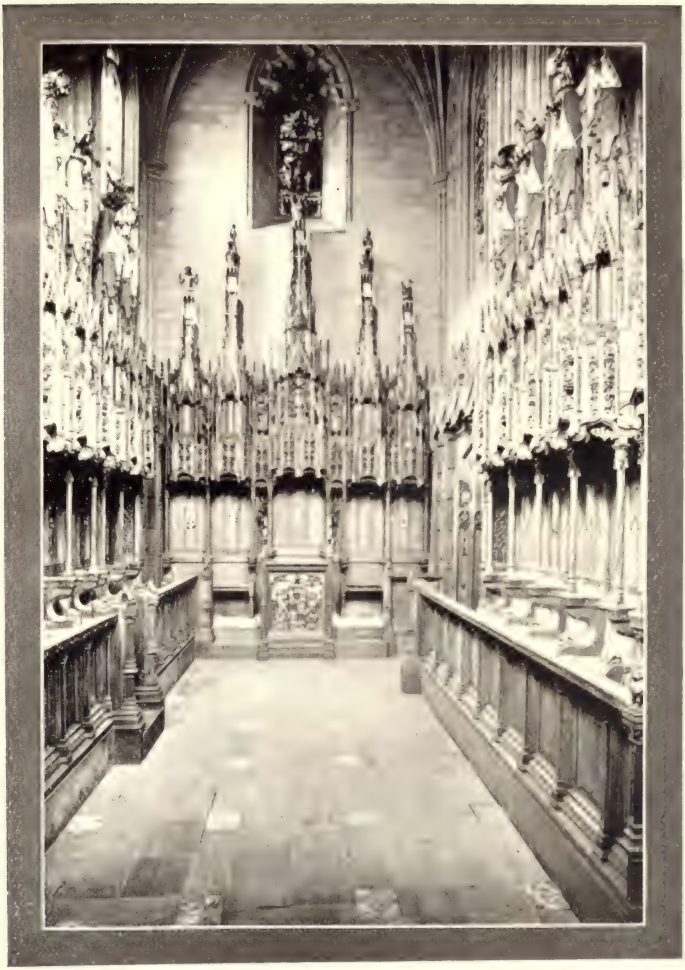
But all these evidences of revival reflect the wider and more charitable outlook on life generally which has characterised the reaction from the spirit of self-centred dissent. The irrepressible tendency to protest and testify, to exterminate one's opponents or go to the stake, has happily passed away with the call for heroic action. It has given place to a spirit which, while progressing with the times, cherishes all that is good and true in the past, and dwells on the things wherein we agree rather than on those wherein we differ. Such a spirit is in every respect more worthy of a national church. Therein lies the hope and promise of the future.

CHAPTER XII

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO-DAY

A STRANGER arriving in Edinburgh some fine morning towards the end of May, will find the city in festal array, its streets bedecked with flags, and crowds awaiting something with an expectant air. Never does the fair city look more enchanting than on such an occasion. The ragged grey outline of the castle against the sky, rises up out of the tenderest green of the gardens beneath, rich in the first flush of their summer foliage. The sun beats down on the thronged promenade of Princes Street. Troops in the uniforms of famous Scottish regiments line the streets. From time to time, the stranger will observe carriages conveying important looking personages in gorgeous uniforms, and if he follows them he will find himself ere long standing in front of the Palace of Holyrood House. An escort of cavalry is drawn up in the forecourt. A state carriage with outriders is standing at the main entrance, and high above all, the Royal Standard floats over the ancient palace of the Scottish Kings. What does it all mean ?

The stranger may well ask the question, for in no other city of Christendom is such a sight to be seen. Nothing comparable to this takes place in London or Dublin, and certainly not in Paris, Washington, Petro-



F. C. Inglis.

THE THISTLE CHAPEL.

The Chapel of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle in S. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, "gifted by John David Earl of Leven and Melville and his brothers in fulfilment of the wishes of their father, S. Andrew's Day 1910." View showing the Sovereign's stall in the centre, and the stalls of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, K.T., and H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.T. on either side.

grad, or Rome. More spectacular pageants there are in other capitals, but surely no procession more impressive by its significance than this—when His Majesty's Lord High Commissioner goes in state from the Palace of Holyrood House to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Within the General Assembly Hall the Fathers and Brethren receive His Grace with all due honour. The voice of the Clerk breaks the tense silence—" Lock the doors ! " All remain standing while the Moderator invokes the Divine blessing on Church and State. The Assembly being thus " constituted " by prayer, proceeds to business and elects a new Moderator. On being installed in the Chair, the Moderator first bows three times to the Assembly, and then turning round he bows to the Lord High Commissioner seated on the Throne which is placed in an elevated recess—technically not within the Hall. His Grace, who has a magnificent golden mace at his right hand, is usually accompanied, in the throne gallery, on such occasions by Her Grace, Ladies-in-Waiting and Maids of Honour, pages in powdered wigs, Chaplain, Purse-bearer, Aide-de-Camp, Officers of State, Lyon King-of-Arms, and the Lord Provost of the City.

The Purse-bearer hands to the Principal Clerk an imposing parchment sealed with the magnificent seal appointed by the Treaty of Union to be used in place of the Great Seal of Scotland. It is His Majesty's Commission appointing the Lord High Commissioner and is received and read with all due honour and respect. " To all good men to whom these our present letter may come "—the King sends, " Greeting.—seeing we by reason of our other weighty affairs, cannot in person be present in the said Assembly . . . Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved . . . is appointed—to be our High Commissioner . . . to represent our sacred person and royal authority and supply our presence and hold our place in the said ensuing General Assembly."

The King's letter, in no stereotyped official form, is next delivered and received in a similar manner. It is addressed "to the Right Reverend and Well-Beloved, the Moderator, Ministers and Elders of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland." Writing, a few days after his accession, His Majesty King George V. stated: "We bound Ourselves upon Our accession to the Throne by a solemn obligation to maintain the Church of Scotland in the full enjoyment of all its rights and privileges, and We take this occasion of renewing Our obligation, assuring you of Our determination so to succeed to the way of Our Beloved Father and Our Royal Ancestors that the countenance and favour which the Church of Scotland received from them it shall ever receive undiminished from Us."

On a more recent occasion His Majesty has written ;

"As the fourth year of the war waged by us and our Allies approaches completion, we desire to give renewed expression to the sense of gratitude and pride with which we continue to watch the unexampled sacrifices made by our beloved people of Scotland in common with the rest of our Dominions. The justice of our cause and a firm faith in the Divine guidance of human affairs towards a righteous end are our support in these days of trial. We are convinced that you will continue to regard it as your sacred duty to fortify our people in the resolute energy which, under Providence, will secure a successful issue. We are confident that your grave counsels will be guided by the loyalty to our person and by the wisdom and prudence which they have ever shown, and that by the blessing of Divine Providence they will bear fruit in the advancement of virtue and true religion."

In the General Assembly is focussed the life and the work of the Church. It is a curious democratic blend of High Church principles, Low Church practice, and Broad Church sympathies—the embodiment of freedom and discipline, and the best of all bonds between the King and his people. Though varying from year to year in the great majority of its individual members, it preserves a well-defined continuity of spirit, and as the leaders of each generation pass away there is never wanting a succession of faithful and able men to take their places. If controversies now happily dead and buried no longer give rise to the brilliant debates of former days, there is no lack of eloquence of a calmer nature and higher tone, not less earnest or inspiring.

To understand the constitution of the General Assembly one must begin with the parochial basis—the Kirk-Session composed of the minister and an indefinite number of elders. One peculiarity of the Kirk-Session is that whereas the minister is elected by the congregation, the elders are elected or appointed by the Kirk-Session. The minister and one elder represent the parish in the group of parishes forming each of the eighty-four Presbyteries and also in the group of Presbyteries forming each of the sixteen Synods. The Kirk-Sessions are subject to the Presbytery, the Presbyteries to the Synod, and the Synods to the General Assembly under reservation of the right of appeal from the lower to the higher court. The General Assembly consists of representatives of various bodies as follows: (*a*) Presbyteries—one minister out of every four or part of four, and one elder out of every six or part of six ministers; (*b*) Town Councils—Edinburgh—two elders; the other Royal burghs—one elder from each; (*c*) Universities—one minister or elder from the Senate of each; (*d*) the Church in India—one minister and elder. The result is that the ministers are in a slight majority. "On every question, whether of doctrine, of discipline, or of worship, which comes before a Presbytery, a Synod or an Assembly, elders have the same right to speak and to vote as ministers."[1]

The time of the General Assembly is mainly occupied in considering the reports of the various committees on the work of the past year. The religious activities of Church people are directed not by self-constituted missionary societies and associations under distinguished patronage, which derive their authority from annual meetings of subscribers, but by the ministers and elders acting on the instructions and by the authority of the General Assembly. Committees are appointed annually to conduct the various, and ever growing, enterprises of the Church; and her faithful people are called upon to aid them with personal service and with contributions to the collections which are appointed to be made in churches and chapels. The report of a committee is usually presented by the Convener, a discussion follows, and finally the "deliverance" is adopted—in which the report, perhaps amended, is approved, instructions are given, and the committee reappointed.[2]

---

[1] Dr. William Simpson, *Year Book*, 1917, pp. 25, 30.

[2] For a list of Committees and an outline of their work see *The Church of Scotland Year Book*.

But the General Assembly is also the Supreme Judicial Court of the Church and is called upon to pronounce final judgment, in ecclesiastical matters, on appeals from the inferior courts. Parties, sometimes represented by counsel, appear at the bar and the Assembly is advised by the Procurator of the Church—an advocate of eminence and experience, elected by the General Assembly.

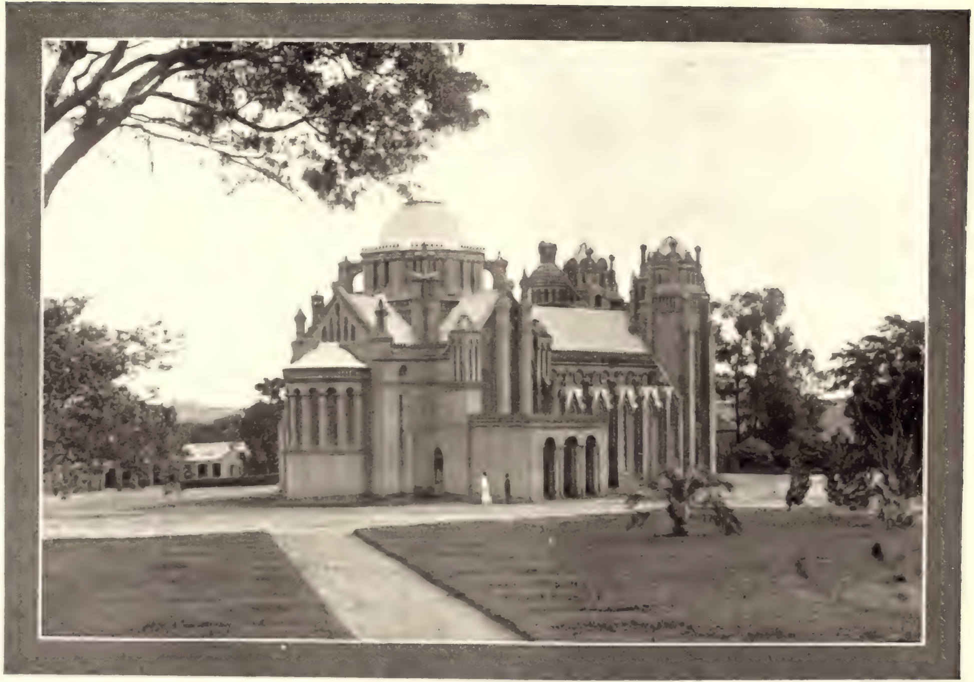
The various proposals which come before the Assembly do so in the form of *Overtures* a word which, like *Moderator*, is of Huguenot origin. The want of a second chamber for the purpose of review is compensated by the *Barrier Act* which was passed in 1697 to prevent sudden alterations or innovations. Under this Act an Overture passed by the Assembly must be remitted to the Presbyteries for consideration, and receive the approval of a majority of their number and be confirmed by a vote of the next General Assembly before the Overture becomes a law of the Church. In emergencies, the delay involved by a reference to Presbyteries under the *Barrier Act* can be obviated by passing the Overture into an *Interim Act*, which gives it the force of law until next Assembly.

One of the most interesting features of the Assembly is the reception of the Church's missionaries from foreign lands. Visits are also received from delegates of daughter churches not only in Great Britain and Ireland but also in the Dominions beyond the seas and in the United States of America. The catholic sympathies of the Scottish Church are manifested when representatives of the Reformed Churches on the continent—from Holland, France, Switzerland, Bohemia, Italy, and elsewhere are received with cordial welcome. Distinguished prelates of the Church of England have done much by their visits to promote goodwill between the two national churches of the United Kingdom. A visit of more than ordinary significance on a recent occasion was that of an eminent and eloquent cleric of the Church of Serbia, who voiced the gratitude of his country for the heroic labours of Dr. Elsie Inglis and her fellow-workers in the Scottish Women's Hospitals. But the best of welcomes has been reserved for those of her own kith and kin separated by long years of unhappy estrangement—the Moderator and brethren of the United Free Church—the representatives of many secessions, and the harbingers of a coming reunion of the Scottish Church.

The labours of the Assembly being ended, the Moderator delivers an address at the close of which he says amid a solemn hush, while all rise to their feet,—

"Right Reverend and Right Honourable, as we met in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the sole Head and King of this Church, so in the same Great Name I do now dissolve this Assembly: and appoint the next General Assembly to be held in Edinburgh on . . ."

Turning to the Lord High Commissioner the Moderator addresses His Grace in courtly language, expressing the hope that he will be able to give a favourable report of the Assembly to His Majesty. In reply His Grace usually comments briefly with sympathy and encouragement on some of the more outstanding features of the proceedings, and intimates that he will not fail to report to His Majesty the orderly and efficient manner in which the debates have been conducted. "I now dissolve," he continues, "the Assembly in the King's name and appoint the next General Assembly to meet in Edinburgh on . . ."



THE MISSION CHURCH OF S. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, BLANTYRE, BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

The fathers and brethren unite in singing Psalm cxxii. to the stately strains of *S. Paul*—

> "Pray that Jerusalem may have
> Peace and felicity."

And then the Right Reverend Moderator pronounces the Benediction.

The pageant passes but the blessing remains on both Church and State through the annual meeting of the General Assembly.

APPENDIX

Note A, page 4. *The designation of "Pope."*

In Orkney and Shetland the names of several islands recall the labours of the early missionaries who bore the title of Pope or Papa = Father. In the former group are Papa Westray, Papa Stronsay, Paply, and Papdale; and in the latter, Papil, Papa Stour, and Papa Isle. Shortly after Queen Margaret's advent Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) prohibited others from using the title, and reserved it for the bishops of Rome exclusively. In the Eastern Churches the word Pope is still the usual designation of presbyters.

Note B, page 18. *Ordination of S. Aidan.*

Considerable controversy has arisen over Bede's account of Aidan's ordination. He writes that in a great council all present concluded that he deserved to be made a bishop "and accordingly, ordaining him, they sent him. . . ." The question arises—are we to understand that the presbyter abbot and monks made Aidan a bishop? Bishop Dowden urges that the phrase used in view of the recognised practice is to be understood as "causing him to be ordained," and Dr. James Campbell accepts this view as reasonable in the circumstances. On the other hand Bellesheim and Dom Columba Edmonds, O.S.B., pass the matter in silence, and contemporary opinion in Roman circles was against the validity of the orders of the Scottish Church. On the whole it would appear to be unwise to dogmatise about Aidan's ordination as a bishop, nor is there any need to do so; for, as Dr. Campbell justly remarks, "ordination by presbyters rests on other and better grounds than the practice of the seventh century." The term "ordination" was at that period frequently used for the " consecration " of bishops. See Dowden, *Celtic Church*, p. 262.

Note C, page 20. *Celtic and Roman Usages.*

Easter. The Celts adhered to the very oldest method of calculating Easter. This method was abandoned by Rome in 343 and further changes were made in 460 or 463 and in 525. " The Romans stigmatised the Celtic usages as ' Jewish ' ; but the charge was groundless, the real offence being that the Celts had not changed with Rome."

The Tonsure. " The shaving of the hair as a symbol of clerical office was not a Church custom until the end of the fifth century, but it became usual in the sixth century, when the ' corona clerici ' appears on a Ravenna mosaic. It was advocated sometimes as a memorial of the crown of thorns, sometimes as a prophetic emblem of the unfading crown of glory, and it made way through the same influences which led the clergy to assume professional dress. . . Celtic monks shaved only the forehead, in front of a line drawn from ear to ear, leaving long locks behind." See Dr. A. R. MacEwen's *History of the Church in Scotland*, p. 87.

Note D, page 35. *The Teinds.*

" There is not," writes Prin. Cunningham, " in the whole legislation of Scotland any Act establishing the teind system or making it compulsory. . . . Many parliaments guaranteed the Church in all its ancient rights and privileges ; but no Parliament created them " " Tithes, teinds, tenths, decimae," writes Dr. James Rankin, " constitute a burden on land. The owner of an estate is not a complete owner. The Church is joint owner with each, but the joint ownership does not consist of separating a certain percentage of acres, but only a certain percentage of crop or rent. The Church's possession of this claim is more ancient and less interrupted than any private titles now existing." The teinds being the produce of one particular parish, cannot be expended on another parish. They constitute a parochial endowment for the local purposes of the Church.

Note E, page 89. *George Wishart.*

In a certain respect Wishart presents one of the insoluble puzzles of history. The question arises out of a reference to " a Scottish man called Wysshert " mentioned in a letter by the Earl of Hertford as being privy to a conspiracy to apprehend or assassinate Cardinal Beaton. Was this Wysshert the martyr ? Prof. A. F. Mitchell and Dr. David Laing reply in the negative ; Father D. O. Hunter Blair replies in the affirmative ; and Mr. Andrew Lang, who discusses the problem very fully (*History of Scotland*, i. 484), holds that while possible nothing can be proved. The damaging feature is that the Earl of Cassilis, Crichton of Brunstane and other supporters of the martyr were among the leading conspirators, but on the other hand he was not the only one of the name of Wishart or Wysshert. The whole problem lies in the realm of conjecture.

Note F, page 105. *Idolatry.*

Knox' definition of idolatry, as given in the *First Book of Discipline*, is as follows : " By idolatry we understand, the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same : and finally all honouring of God, not contained in His Holy Word."

Note G, page 106. *Iconoclasm.*

The destruction of church furnishings at the Reformation was no mere momentary outburst of popular and unreasoning fury, but was the deliberate and sustained policy of the leaders of the Church. So late as 1609 Archbishop Spottiswoode with a party " broke into the house of Mr. Gilbert Brown, former abbot of New (Sweetheart) Abbey,—and having found a great number of popish books, copes, chalices, pictures, images, and such other popish trash, he most worthily and dutifully, as became both a prelate and a councillor, on a mercat day, at a great confluence of people in the hie street of the burgh of Dumfries, did burn all those copes, vestments, and chalices." *Privy Council Record* quoted in Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 422.

Note H, page 113. *Roman Catholic Martyrs.*

Dr. Thomas M'Crie claims that "not a single Papist suffered death in Scotland for the sake of his religion." On the other hand Father Matthew Power, S.J., in a short monograph on Father Francis, whom he styles the "Protomartyr of Scotland," states: "We cannot ascribe to Scotland more than the three following undoubted martyrs of the Catholic faith in the days of the Reformation." The names given are (1) Father Francis, a monk who was stabbed to death on the sacking of the Trinity Friars monastery, Aberdeen, on 4th Dec., 1559. (2) Father Robson, of whom nothing is known save a statement that he "was hanged in Glasgow for saying of Mass." (3) John Ogilvy, S.J., hanged on 28th February, 1615 (see page 156). Father Power adds: "No laymen and no woman is known to have been executed for the Catholic faith during the Scottish Reformation."

Note I, page 113. *Vicar of Christ.*

The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* explains the meaning of this title borne by the Pope as "implying his supreme and universal primacy, both of honour and of jurisdiction, over the Church of Christ. It is founded on the words of the Divine Shepherd to S. Peter, Feed my lambs . . . Feed my sheep (John xxi. 16, 17) by which He constituted the Prince of the Apostles guardian of His entire flock in His own place, thus making him His Vicar and fulfilling the promise made in Matt. xvi. 18, 19." The evidence adduced is regarded by Protestants as quite insufficient to establish the immense claim made.

Note J, page 120. *Extempore Prayer.*

The Rev. J. H. Maude of Hertford College, Oxford, in his *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford Church Text Book Series), writing of the worship of the Early Church states: "Some liturgical formulas may have come into existence at a very early date, and it has been thought that traces of them are to be found in the New Testament, but the use of extempore prayers probably prevailed to a great extent for a considerable period, and even when formulas became fixed they were not necessarily committed to writing. At a much later period some of the most important parts of the service were commonly recited from memory. There are, in fact, no extant written liturgies of the first three centuries, and perhaps they hardly existed." William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway (1623), describes public worship when Knox' liturgy was in use, in his *Seven Days' Conference*: "I will show you how the same order which this day is observed in our Church, concerning the exercises of God's worship, was also observed in the Primitive Church nearest the Apostles' days." He then quotes Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 67, and Tertullian, *Apol. ad Gentes*, 39.

Note K, page 122. *Godparents.*

Godparents are not mentioned in the Westminster Directory, where the duty of presenting a child for baptism is laid on the father, or in case of his necessary absence on some Christian friend in his place. The law of the Church now rests on the Act of the General Assembly of 1712, which states that no other sponsor but the parents is to be taken—unless in certain exceptional circumstances. As to the propriety of the institution of godparents or sponsors Dr. Robert Lee has observed with much force: "When heathen children were brought up as Christians by Christians this was natural; and it might be tolerable that others should stand sponsors for the children of Christian parents to the effect of undertaking the duty of the latter in case of their death or incapacity to perform it themselves; but that the Christian parent should stand aside and see other persons make certain professions and undertake certain duties for his child, which duties those other persons never intend to perform, while the parent who is really responsible is excluded, is an outrage on truth, propriety and common sense to which only custom could reconcile any population or any person." (*Life*, ii. p. 105.)

Note L, page 122. *Priest or Minister.*

Bishop Moule of Durham, in his *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, p. 222, writes: "It is remarkable that the Christian minister as such is *never* in the New Testament called, ἱερεύς *sacerdos*. As one of the true Israel, he is 'a King and a Priest to God' (1 Peter ii. 9, Rev. i. 6, v. 9, 10), but on a footing precisely that of his lay brethren." Bishop Lightfoot in *Philippians*, p. 182, referring to the appointment of a ministry, writes : " They are called stewards or messengers of God, servants or ministers of the Church, and the like : but the sacerdotal title is never once conferred upon them." Dr. Hastings in his *Dictionary of the Bible* writes : " Minister. —In modern English this word is applied either ecclesiastically to the servant of God, or else politically to the servant of the Crown or State." . . . " When St. Paul speaks of being himself a minister of Christ (Rom. xv. 16, 2 Cor. xi. 23, Eph. iii. 7) or of the gospel (Col. i. 23, 25) he does not use the word in any other sense than the absolute sense of servant."

Note M, page 123. *Altar or Table.*

The words *altar* and *table* indicate rather than define the difference between the Roman Mass and the Scottish Communion. While the word *altar* is nowhere used in the New Testament in connection with the Lord's Supper, the word *table* occurs as the equivalent for *altar* in Ezekiel xli. 22 and xliv. 16, and in Malachi i. 7 and 12. " The people of God," wrote Calderwood in 1618, " had an altar for a sacrifice and a table for a feast . . . so Christians have one altar for one sacrifice to wit, Christ who is Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice, Heb. xiii. 10, and a table for a feast after this sacrifice was once made, to wit, the Sacrament of the Supper." In S. Luke xxii. 14 we read, " *He sat down* and the twelve apostles with Him," and in v. 21, " The hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on *the table*." Here we have the scene which inspired Leonardo da Vinci, himself a Romanist, in the composition of his well-known masterpiece. The Reformers understood the narrative in a similar manner, and resolved that our Lord's direction, " This do " overruled the ceremonial of the Roman Church. They condemned the transformation of the table into an altar and the placing of it against the wall in the manner of a sideboard—so that the celebrant had to officiate with his back to the congregation and to Him who is ever " in the midst."

After the Reformation the Table usually extended the whole length of the church; the minister officiated from the centre and the communicants sat on either side. This arrangement continued in general use till the beginning of last century when Dr. Chalmers in 1824 introduced a small table in the then newly erected Church of S. John, Glasgow. The elders representing the congregation sat at it and took the elements (" now sanctified by the Word and prayer " *Westminster Directory*) to the communicants in the pews. Though assailed as an innovation, it was really a restoration of primitive usage. In the ancient basilicas, the earliest type of Christian Church, the altar is placed in the front of the chancel and the bishop's chair or *cathedra* directly behind, with seats on either side for the clergy. In such churches the officiating priest celebrates from behind the altar and faces the congregation. Ruskin gives a picturesque description in *The Stones of Venice* of this arrangement in Torcello Cathedral. In the Greek Church the Holy Table, as it is designated, and the bishop's chair occupy similar positions behind the *ikonostasis* or screen. While the Table in the Scottish Church is frequently referred to as the Communion Table it is probably more correct to call it the Holy Table. It may be recalled that Burns uses this latter designation when describing a weird scene in Alloway Kirk.

Note N, page 130. *The office of Elder.*

Whether or not the modern elder is a presbyter is nowhere definitely stated in the Westminster standards. At the Westminster Assembly the Scottish Commissioners supported the affirmative but met with strong opposition from the Independents, and the question was left an open one in the *Form of Church Government*. This treatise mentions " pastors, teachers, and other church governors," but it avoids the use of the term " presbyter." The passage is headed " Other Church Governors," and is as follows: " As there were in the Jewish Church Elders of the people joined with the Priests and Levites in the government of the Church; so Christ, who hath instituted government, and governors ecclesiastical in the Church, hath furnished some in His Church, besides the Ministers of the Word, with gifts for government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the Minister in the government of the Church. Which officers reformed Churches commonly call Elders." See Dr. A. F. Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly*, pp. 186 and 487.

A committee of the Pan-Presbyterian Council appointed to enquire into the matter reported in 1884 that at least three distinct theories were entertained. (1) That while the New Testament recognises but one order of Presbyters, in it there are two degrees or classes, known as Teaching Elders and Ruling Elders ; (2) that there is no warrant in Scripture for the office of the Eldership now existing, and that Elders are not Presbyters, and (3) that in everything, except training, and the consequences of training, the Elder is the very same as the Minister, *i.e.* Overseer, Bishop, Presbyter and Elder. "From the reports placed in the hands of the Committee, it appears that the practice generally followed in the Presbyterian Churches of the present time is in accordance with the first named theory." Dr. A. H. K. Boyd, writing on "The ideal of a National Church," says : "In theory both are presbyters, with no priestly claims. In practice, the elders are laymen, the ministers clergymen. Both are ordained : but the clergy alone by the laying on of hands of other clergymen." On the other hand Principal Story writes in *Apostolic Ministry*, p. 250 : "The elders were not presbyters in the sense in which that word is identical with *bishops* or *ministers* : they were 'the elders of the people' in the sense in which the term was used in Old Testament times. . . ."

Note O, page 132. *Apostolic Succession.*

Dr. Pusey in the course of a sermon entitled *The Church the Converter of the Heathen*, p. 14, has briefly stated the episcopalian theory of apostolic succession thus : "The Church has a principle of perpetuity imparted to it through His promise, who is her Head and Lord ; her succession of Bishops mount up, by a golden chain, link by link, to the Apostles, with whom and with their successors, Christ promised to be 'alway even to the end of the world,' and to His second coming." In Dr. Pusey's golden chain of "bishops" there is, however, a missing link—the most important of all, viz. that which should connect it with the Apostles. (See Note Q, *The origin of Episcopacy*.) The only historical apostolic succession, whatever its value, is found not in the episcopate but in the presbyterate of the Christian Church. Dr. G. W. Sprott has made this very clear in a sermon on *The Necessity of a Valid Ordination to the Holy Ministry*, preached before the Synod of Aberdeen and published in 1873.

"The gulf that divides us from those who believe in an order of Ministers above Presbyters with sole power to ordain is a very wide one. They hold our Ministry invalid, and that we have no part in the historic continuity of the Church. We, on the other hand, maintain, that there *never has been, nor can be any other than Presbyterian ordination*, whether called by that name or no ; that Presbyters are the successors of the Apostles in as far as they have successors, that they form the backbone of the Church, and the channel through which power is transmitted, that they can give what they receive but no more, and that all offices and grades above them, from Prelate to Pope, are mere matters of canon law and ecclesiastical arrangement. We can find in Scripture no institution of any higher order, no name for the office of Prelate, Bishop being, in the language of inspiration, another appellation of a Presbyter, not a word as to the qualifications required in so eminent a Church officer, or as to the duties incumbent on him towards his subordinates, or their duties towards him. On the contrary, we find the full powers of the Ministry committed to, and exercised by, Presbyters."

Note P, page 145. *Identity of "Bishop" and "Presbyter."*

The Greek word *Episcopos* in the New Testament is translated "bishop" and signifies an overseer or superintendent.

The Greek word *Presbuteros* = presbyter is translated "elder." It signifies primarily one of advanced years and comes from the Jewish Synagogue which was ruled by a council of elders.

The identity of *Episcopos* and *Presbuteros* is held to be proved by the following amongst other passages in the New Testament.

(1) Titus i. 5-7, R.V. " For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that were wanting, and appoint *elders* in every city, as I gave thee charge ; . . . for the *bishop* (mar. ' or overseer ') must be blameless, as God's steward ; . . ."

(2) Acts xx. 17 and 28, R.V. S. Paul " . . . sent to Ephesus, and called to him the *elders* (mar. ' or *presbyters* ') of the church. . . . Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops* (mar. ' or *overseers* '). . . ."

(3) 1 Peter v. 1-2, R.V. " The *elders* therefore among you I exhort, who am a fellow-elder. . . . Tend the flock of God which is among you, exercising the *oversight* " (the *oversight* = episcopos = overseer or bishop).

(4) Phil. i. 1, R.V. This epistle is addressed—" to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the *bishops* (mar. ' or *overseers* ') and *deacons*." It cannot be assumed that there were no presbyters at Phillippi.

(5) 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8, R.V. " The *bishop* (mar. ' or *overseer* ') therefore must be without reproach, etc." ; " *Deacons* in like manner must be grave." Again, there is no mention of presbyters, though in the following chapter, iv. 14, S. Paul reminds Timothy of " the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."

(6) Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 23, and xvi. 4. In each of these five passages *apostles* and *elders* are mentioned, but not *bishops*. It cannot be assumed that there were no bishops at Jerusalem.

The inference drawn from paragraphs (4), (5), and (6) is that bishops and presbyters were identical. It is not without significance that the " Epistle " appointed to be read at the consecration of a bishop or archbishop in the Church of England is either of the passages referred to above in pars. (5) and (2). Presumably they were chosen *faute de mieux*.

Note Q, page 146. *The origin of Episcopacy.*

S. Jerome (340-420) in his letter to Evangelus, after proving " that presbyters are the same as bishops " from Phil. i. 1, Acts xx. 28, Tit. i. 5-7, 1 Tim. iv. 14, 1 Pet. v. 1-2, 2 John 1, and 3 John 1, proceeds : " When subsequently one presbyter was chosen to preside over the rest, this was done to remedy schism and to prevent each individual from rending the Church of Christ by drawing it to himself. For even at Alexandria from the time of Mark the Evangelist until the episcopate of Heracles (233-249) and Dionysius (249-265) the presbyters always named one as bishop, one of their own number chosen by themselves, and set in a more exalted position, just as an army elects a general, or as deacons appoint one of themselves whom they know to be diligent and call him archdeacon."

Bishop J. B. Lightfoot expresses his view thus : " The episcopate properly so called would seem to have been developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the episcopate was formed not out of the apostolic order by localisation but out of the presbyterial by elevation ; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them." *Philippians*, p. 194.

Note R, page 157. *Confirmation.*

" As to confirmation, no objection was likely to be made against a formal owning of their baptismal vows by young persons before their first Communion. Calvin had approved of it (*Instit.* iv. 194). The question at issue was—" who should receive them ? The Aberdeen Assembly two years before held that the parochial bishop could confirm as well as the diocesan, as has been the usage in the Greek Church. . . ." Dr. T. Leishman, *The Church of Scotland Past and Present,* v. p. 367.

Archbishop Spottiswoode in his sermon at the Perth Assembly frankly stated the real object of Confirmation as then proposed : " . . . . as S. Jerome speaks the Church thought fit that seeing Baptism is given by Presbyters, lest children should be ignorant of the spiritual authority of bishops over them, they should attend the receiving of

Confirmation by their hands ; so this was done for the honour of Prelacy as he speaks." Spottiswoode, *Miscel.* i. 76.

Note S, page 157. *Kneeling at Holy Communion.*

The question of receiving this sacrament kneeling or sitting may appear at first sight to be a mere matter of taste and of no great importance. On enquiring into the controversy on the subject it is evident that more than the posture of the body was involved, and that the real question at issue was as to the relative merits of the presbyterian and episcopalian rites. Objection was taken to kneeling at an altar placed against the eastern wall, even though called a table, and receiving the elements at the hands of a priest though sometimes called a minister who was to address the communicants in the second person singular. *The First Book of Discipline* stated : " plain it is, that at supper Christ Jesus sat with His disciples, and therefore do we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action. . . . That the minister break the bread, and distribute the same to those that be next to him, commanding the rest every one with reverence and sobriety, to break with other, we think nearest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practice (of the Apostles) as we read in S. Paul." " When the bread is carved in little morsels," wrote Calderwood (Pamphlet, *Perth Assembly*), " before it is presented to the table, it is not the sacramental and mystical breaking in the use of the Sacrament which ought to be performed after the thanksgiving according to Christ's example. . . . This breaking was needful both for mystery and distribution. . . . When kneeling is practiced,—we read not in their Service-books of the breaking of bread after thanksgiving : whereby the Passion of Christ is not set forth to the communicant as it ought to be."

Note T, page 180. *Privy Censures.*

The following is an extract from the Minutes contained in the *Booke of the Presbyterie of Kirkcaldie*, p. 96, edited by the Rev. W. Stevenson, relating to the visitation of the Kirk of Kirkcaldie on 23rd June, 1636.

"The Ministers and Reider being removed for their trials, the elders present praise God for them, and approve them both in doctrine and in their lives and conversations; also all persons that had anything to object against any of them being summoned at the kirk door to compeir and be heard: none compeired. The elders also being removed for their trials, the Ministers returning, praise God for them also, but desired them to be admonished to keep the Session better which was done. Also all persons who had anything to object against any of them being summoned at the kirk door to compeir and be heard; no man compeired."

Note U, page 185. *Anglican Orders.*

The "consecration" of Sharp and his colleagues on 15th December, 1661, by bishops of the Church of England, raises some questions of no little interest. It is quite clear that they were consecrated under the Ordinal of 1552 as the new Ordinal which is now in use did not pass the House of Lords till 9th April and receive the royal assent till 19th May, 1662. The ordinal of 1552 begins with the passage 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, which Dr. Norman Macleod (*Ch. Min. and Sac.*, p. 43) states "indisputably refers to Presbyters." In the prayer before the laying on of hands reference is made to Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Doctors, but no mention whatever is made of "Bishops." At the supreme moment of laying on of hands the words employed are "Take the Holy Ghost and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness" (2 Tim. i. 6)—and again there is no mention of the office or work of a "bishop." The same lack occurs when the Archbishop delivers the Bible and also in the final prayer. It may be that the Scottish ministers were made "bishops" by this ceremony, but the Ordinal does not say so. Anglican orders were declared on this and other grounds by Pope Leo XIII. in 1896, to be "absolutely null and utterly void," thus confirming the decision in the case of Gordon, Bishop of Galloway. See page 213.

Note V, page 185. *Scottish Episcopalian Services.*

A description of church services during the period of the second episcopacy is given by Bishop Rattray (1684-1743) in Dr. J. F. S. Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, ii. 109. He states *inter alia*: "The method in our ordinary Assemblies on the Lord's Day was almost the same with that of the Presbyterians, beginning with singing a stanza or two of the Metre Psalms after which followed an extemporary Prayer, during which, as well as at the singing of the Psalms, most of the Congregation sat only they were uncovered. Then came a long Sermon, the text of which was no sooner read but most of the people put on their hats and bonnets. After the sermon followed another extemporary Prayer, at the conclusion of which they said the Lord's Prayer, then another stanza or two of the Metre Psalms, which they concluded with a Doxology. . . . After the Doxology the Congregation was dismissed with the Blessing; but indeed most of them did not wait for it, for all the time it was a pronouncing they were running out of Church like so many sheep breaking out of a fold in the greatest hurry and confusion. . . . The Holy Eucharist was not celebrated in most places at least above once a year, if so often, and their method of doing it differed also very little from that of the Presbyterians. . . . They had long tables placed in the Church on each side of which the people sat as if it had been at a common meal and handed about the Elements from one to another. . . . This so great affinity betwixt us and the Presbyterians as to what respected Public Worship . . . was without doubt the reason why our people so generally joined with the Presbyterians in the beginning of the Revolution, . . . perceiving no difference from what they had been formerly used to, save only the omission of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology. . . . In this deplorable state we continued till about the year 1707 or 1708."

Note W, page 207. *An Execution for Blasphemy.*

In 1696 an Edinburgh student, not yet twenty-one years of age, named Thomas Aitkenhead was prosecuted by the Lord Advocate for the crime of blasphemy under an Act of Charles II. which "ordained, that whosoever not being distracted in his wits shall raill upon or curse God, or any of the persons of the blessed Trinity, shall be processed before the Chief Justice and being found guilty shall be punished with death." Before the trial took place Aitkenhead abjured his heresies unreservedly and affirmed his belief in the "haill heads of the reformed religion." Four of his companions gave evidence against him of much foolish talk. No counsel appeared for the defence, and Aitkenhead was found guilty by the jury and sentenced to death. In vain he petitioned for a respite, and he was executed on 8th January, 1696-7. Whether the clergy made any effort to save this misguided youth's life has been much debated. On the whole it would appear that there was a wave of unbelief passing over the country at the time and that no formal action was taken. See *State Trials* (Howell), xiii. 917.

INDEX

Aberdeen—
  Assemblies, 118, 151, 254.
  Confession, 118.
  Diocese, 61.
  Doctors, 164.
  King's College, 86.
  University, 47, 67.
Accommodation movement, 190
Acts—
  Anti-Reform Acts, 85, 89, 91.
  Assertory, 189.
  Barrier, 241.
  Bishop's drag net, 188.
  Black, 143, 144.
  Chapel, 228, 230, 231, 233.
  Church's Charter, *q.v.*
  Graham's, Sir J., 233.
  Mile, 187.
  Patronage, 186, 233.
  Queen Anne, 216, 229, 230, 233.
  Recissory, 185, 205.
  Reform Acts, 91, 111, 113.
  Revocation, 158.
  Security, 209.
  Test, 196.
  Toleration, 216.
  Veto, 228-230.
Aidan, S., 18, 19, 244.
Alane, or Alesius, 81, 83, 84.
  is appeal, 83.
Alban, Bishop of, 55, 58.
Altar or Table, 249.
Anglican Orders, 213, 256.
Annates or First Fruits, 71.
Anti-Burgher Synod, 220.
Anti-Lifters, 220.
Anti-Pope, 69, 93.
Apostolic Succession, 251.
Archbishoprics—
  Glasgow, 45, 63.
  St. Andrews, 44, 58.
Architecture, ecclesiastical, 48, 235.
Argyll, Earl and Marquis, 165, 168, 169, 173-175, 184.
Argyll or Lismore, diocese of, 65.
Associate Presbytery, 218, 219, 223, 231.
Auchterarder Case, 229.
Augustinian Canons, 55, 56.
Auld Lichts, 220.

Baillie, Robert, 165, 170, 177.
Baptists, 225.
Beaton, Archbp. James, 47, 82, 89.
Beaton, Cardinal, 75, 86, 89-94, 102, 180, 246.
Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, 74, 77, 86, 156, 213, 244.
Benedictines, 51-54, 65.
Bishop and Presbyter, Identity of, 128, 129, 145, 252, 254.
Black Rood of Scotland, 55.
Blinks, The, 191.
Book of Common Order (Knox' Liturgy), 119-125, 160, 248.

Book of Common Prayer, 215, 216.
  Edward VI., 1552,—101, 102, 107, 256.
  "Laud's" Liturgy, 121, 160, 165.
Bothwell Bridge, 193.
Breach, The, 220.
Brechin, diocese of, 62.
Brown, J., of Priesthill, 198.
Bull *Cum universi*, 38.
Burgher Synod, 220.
Burning Bush, The, 201.

Caithness, diocese of, 61.
Cambuslang revival, 222.
Cameron, Richard, 194, 195.
Cameronian Church, 195, 218.
Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), 195, 205.
Candida Casa, 2, 5, 64.
Canons (*Charles I.*), 160, 165.
Canterbury, claims of, 36-38.
Carstares, W., 196, 203, 207, 209.
Celtic art, 26-28.
  Missions, 17-25.
  Saints, 24, 25, 60-65.
Chalmers, Dr. Thos., 146, 225, 228, 229, 231, 250.
Church's Charter, 115, 129, 144, 186.
  Annulled, 155.
  Revived, 206.
Church government—
  Celtic monastic, 28.
  Roman hierarchy, 34.
  Anglican hierarchy, 154, 183-185.
  Presbyterian, 129, 165, 166, 206.
Claim of Right, 112, 204, 209.
Clerical ignorance, 75.
  incontinence, 75.
Collegiate Churches, 58, 66.
Columba, S., 7-10, 16, 21-27, 59, 65, 215.
Confessions—
  Aberdeen, 118.
  Negative, 118, 163.
  Scots, 111-119, 196, 206.
  Westminster, 147, 171, 172, 185, 206.
Confirmation, 157, 254.
Congregation, The, 100, 105-109, 110.
Consecration of bishops, 155, 185, 244, 256.
Conservator of Statutes, 40.
Constant Moderators, 153.
Conventicles, 187-199.
Coronation of Charles II., 174.
Corpse present, 72.
Covenants—
  First, 100.
  National, 162, 168, 169, 205.
  Solemn League, 168, 169, 173, 205, 218, 219.
Crawer, Paul, 80.
Crusades, 45-47, 56.
Culdees, 34, 52, 56, 59, 62, 65.
Curates, 187, 188, 203, 208.
Cuthbert, S., 19.

Deaconesses, 235.
Deacons, 133, 141.
Dioceses, 58-65, 159.
Discipline, *First Book of*, 109, 112, 128-135, 246, 255.
  Second Book of, 128-135, 145, 149.
  Church, 46, 123, 179.
Disruption, The, 232.
Doctors, 125, 130, 164.
Drontheim, 44, 63, 65.
Drumclog, 192, 195.
Drunken Parliament, 183.
Duff, Dr. Alex., 225.
Dunblane, diocese of, 62.
Dunkeld, 23, 34, 36, 38.
  diocese of, 59.
Duns Law, 165, 166.

Easter controversies, 20-22, 29, 33, 157, 245.
  offering, 71.
Ecclesia Scoticana, 10-29, 23, 74.
Edinburgh, diocese of, 159.
  University of, 47, 67.
Education—
  Monastic, 4, 10, 49.
  Schools, 66, 133, 159, 225.
  University, 47, 78.
Elders, 129, 130, 179, 250.
Engagement, The, 175.
English Bible, 78, 85, 91.
Episcopacy—
  established, 154, 155, 183.
  abolished, 165, 205.
  Origin of, 254.
Erskine, Ebenezer, 218, 219.
Erskine of Dun, 86, 100, 104.
Erskine, Ralph, 223.
Evangelicals, The, 221, 222.
Exercise, The, 129, 154, 186.
Extempore prayer, 120, 160, 198, 247, 257.

Fast-days, 125, 179.
Form of Church Government, 171, 250.
Free Church of Scotland, 218, 228, 232.

Galloway, diocese of, 44, 64.
Geddes, Jenny, 161.
Gilbert de Moray, 37, 61, 67.
Gillespie, Thos., 221.
Glas, John, 226.
Glasgow, 6-9.
  Archbishopric of, 45, 63.
  Assemblies, 154, 164.
  University of, 47, 67, 89, 144.
Godparents, 248.
Gordon, Bishop, 213, 256.
Goudanus, S.J., 77, 137.
Graham, Archbp., 44, 71.
Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, 192, 197, 198, 204.
Greenshields case, 215.
Gregory XIII. on assassination, 93.
Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, 119, 155, 160, 164, 187, 190, 214.
Gude and Godly Ballates, 77.

Haldanes, The, 224, 225.
Hamilton, Archbp., 76, 94, 98, 138.
Hamilton, Patrick, 81, 82, 108, 141.
Hanna, Dean, 160, 161.
Henderson, Alex., 162, 165, 170, 194.
Highland Host, 191.

Iconoclasm, 105-107, 246.
Idolatry, definition of, 246.
Inverkeithing case, 220.
Iona, 10-23.
Irreverence in Church, 76.
Isles, diocese of the, 44, 65.

Jacobite Rebellions, 216.
Jerome, S., 128, 254.
Johnstone of Warriston, 162, 165, 170, 184, 194.

Kentigern, S., 6-9, 63.
Killing Times, 193.
Kirk-Sessions, 129, 179, 239.
Kneeling at Holy Communion, 157, 255.
Knights, Crusading, 56.
  Popes, 87.
Knox, John, 55, 79, 84, 87, 102, 246.
  at St. Andrews, 94.
  in the galleys, 95.
  in England, 96.
  on the Continent, 97.
  in Scotland, 102-142.
  his policy, 104, 126 *et seq.*
  his Liturgy, 119-125, 160, 248

Leighton, Archbp., 184, 185, 186, 190, 191.
Leith, Convention of, 139.
Lent controversy, 33.
Lifters, 220.
Linlithgow Assembly, 152.
Lollards of Kyle, 80.
Lord High Commissioner, 154, 208, 237, 242.
Lords of Erection, 140.

Malignants, 176.
Margaret, S., 30-34, 52, 55, 244.
Marnoch case, 230.
Marriage law, canon, 70.
Martyrs—
  Protestant, 84, 85, 89, 92, 97, 98.
  Roman Catholic, 156, 247.
  Covenanter, 198-201.
Mass penny, 71.
Melville, Andrew, 128, 144-147, 151, 152.
Melville, James, 151, 152.
Metrical Psalms, 257.
Moderates, The, 221, 222.
Monastic orders, 48-58.
Montrose, Marquis of, 164, 168, 173, 194.
Moray, diocese of, 60.

New Lights, 220.
Ninian, S., 2-4, 64, 212, 215.

Oaths—
  Abjuration, 197-200, 217.
  Accession, 210.
  Allegiance, 208.
  Purgation, 179.
Ogilvie, J., S.J., 156, 247.
Ordination—
  Ministers, 132, 155, 185, 252.
  Elders, 130, 151.
Orkney, diocese of, 44, 62.
Oswald, king and saint, 16, 18.

Papal claims, 113.
Paraphrases, 224.
Patrick, S., 5.
Patrimony, 133, 140.
  Alienation of, 72, 128, 139.
Patronage, Church, 35, 140, 186, 218-220, 229-233.
Perth Articles, 157, 165.
Plural livings, 70, 73.
Poor, The, 50, 134.
Pope, Designation of, 244.
Presbyteries, 128, 129, 152-154, 176, 186, 239, 240.
Presbytery—
  Divine right of, 145, 146.
  Established, 144.
  Abolished, 154, 183.
  Re-established, 165, 166, 206.
Priest or Minister, 248.
Privy censures, 179, 255.
Protesters, 176.
Provincial Councils, 40, 98, 99.
Psalms, metrical, 178.
Puritans, 177, 222.

Quod sacra parish Act, 233.

Rabbling the curates, 203.
Reader, 125, 131, 256.
Reading the line, 178.
Reformed Presbyterian Church, 195, 218.
Relief Synod, 221.
Remonstrants, 176.
Renwick, Jas., 196, 200.
Resby, John, 80.
Resolutioners, 176.
Revolution Settlement, 129, 206, 216.
Roman Catholic Church, 213, 214, 215.
Ross, diocese of, 60.
Rous, Francis, 178.
Royal Supremacy, 143, 151, 154, 190, 196.
Rullion Green, 189.

Sanquhar Declaration, 194.
Scots College, Paris, 47.
Scottish Episcopal Church, 214.
Scottish Episcopal Services, 156, 185, 257.
Sectaries, 173, 177.
Session-bailie, 179.
Sharp, Archbp., 184, 185, 191, 192, 193, 214, 256.
St. Andrews, Archbishopric of, 44, 58, 184, 192.
  Bishopric of, 24, 25, 36-38.
  University, 47.
Society People's Declaration, 196.
Solemn League, 182, 196, 205, 218, 219.
Spiritual independence, 126, 145, 147, 228, 232.
Spiritualities, 140, 158.
Spottiswoode, Archbp., 154, 156, 163, 171, 214, 246, 254.
Stewarton case, 231.
Suderies, 65.
Superintendents, 126, 127, 139.
Synods, 129, 153, 186, 239.

Tables, The, 162.
Teinds, 35, 140, 158, 245.
Temporalities, 140.
Ten years' conflict, 228.
Toleration—
  Cromwell, 176.
  William of Orange, 207.
Tonsure, Celtic, 20, 245
Treaty of Union, 209, 216.
"Tulchan" bishops, 139.
Twopenny Faith, 99.

United Presbyterian Church, 221.
United Secession, 220, 221, 227.
Universities, 47, 77, 78.

Vicarage teinds, 140.
Vicar of Christ, 247.
Voluntary controversy, 227

Wesley, John, 223.
Westminster—
  Assembly, 170-172, 250.
  Confession, 147, 171, 172, 185, 206.
  Directory, 172, 248, 250.
Whitby Conference, 21.
Whitefield, George, 223.
Whithorn, 2, 4, 56, 64.
Wigtown martyrs, 199.
Winram, John, 76, 88, 99, 112.
Winzet, Ninian, 87, 99.
Wishart, George, 85-89, 108, 112, 141, 246.
Witchcraft, 180, 219.

York, Claims of, 36-38, 44, 155.

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

POLAND AND THE POLISH QUESTION

IMPRESSIONS & AFTERTHOUGHTS

WITH ELEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

Demy 8vo. Price 10*s.* 6*d. net*

" The book is a piece of careful writing, involving wide reading and thorough knowledge."—*Scotsman.*

" This capital work by Mr. Ninian Hill should prove most acceptable. . . . Mr. Hill tells the tragic story of Poland in a thoroughly interesting fashion."—*Daily Telegraph.*

" Mr. Hill has dissected and analysed the Polish people with sympathy and understanding. . . . The book is good and should be read."—*Globe.*

" Mr. Hill's book should stimulate interest in a gifted and unfortunate race."—*Contemporary Review.*

" The volume is temperate in tone, pleasing in style, and full of timely information."—*New York Times.*

" Mr. Hill's volume is an interesting blend of history, politics, and description."—*Daily News and Leader.*

" A brightly written account of the history and present condition of Poland."—*Truth.*

" Mr. Hill has much that is interesting to tell his readers of the Polish towns and their people, and his book will be found most readable."—*Outlook.*

Poland and the Polish Question

"Mr. Ninian Hill's book appears at a useful moment. Particularly good are the chapters in which he traces the history of the country during its period of independence and power, for in these we are able to note clearly the reasons of its downfall."—*Saturday Review.*

"Mr. Hill has performed a difficult task with marked success. Not only has he given a concise and readable account of Polish history and politics, but he has set forth the chief problems of Polish history with rare judgment and unusual accuracy, handling as he does a subject on which there is practically nothing written in English."—*Manchester Guardian.*

"This fascinating book."—*T. P.'s Weekly.*

"Mr. Hill's book is to be recommended for its fairness and detachment."—*New Witness.*

"The Polish question, long evaded, is posed anew, and will have to be faced and solved before Europe can be assured of a durable peace. For a clear statement of that question Mr. Ninian Hill's new book may be read with interest and profit."—*Observer.*

"Mr. Hill has produced a book abounding in interest both in regard to its subject and in regard to his manner of treating it."—*Church Times.*

"These impressions and afterthoughts reveal rare discrimination in selecting the essential and suppressing the obvious points in the protracted story of Poland's agony."—*Review of Reviews.*

"To anyone who wishes to get a thorough understanding of the Polish Question I can warmly recommend Mr. Ninian Hill's volume. . . . It is as interesting as it is informative."—*British Congregationalist.*

"Such a book as that of Mr. Hill, full of facts and recording personal experiences and impressions, will be acceptable to all serious students of the international problems awaiting solution. The illustrations are excellent, and the map will be found helpful."—*Aberdeen Journal.*